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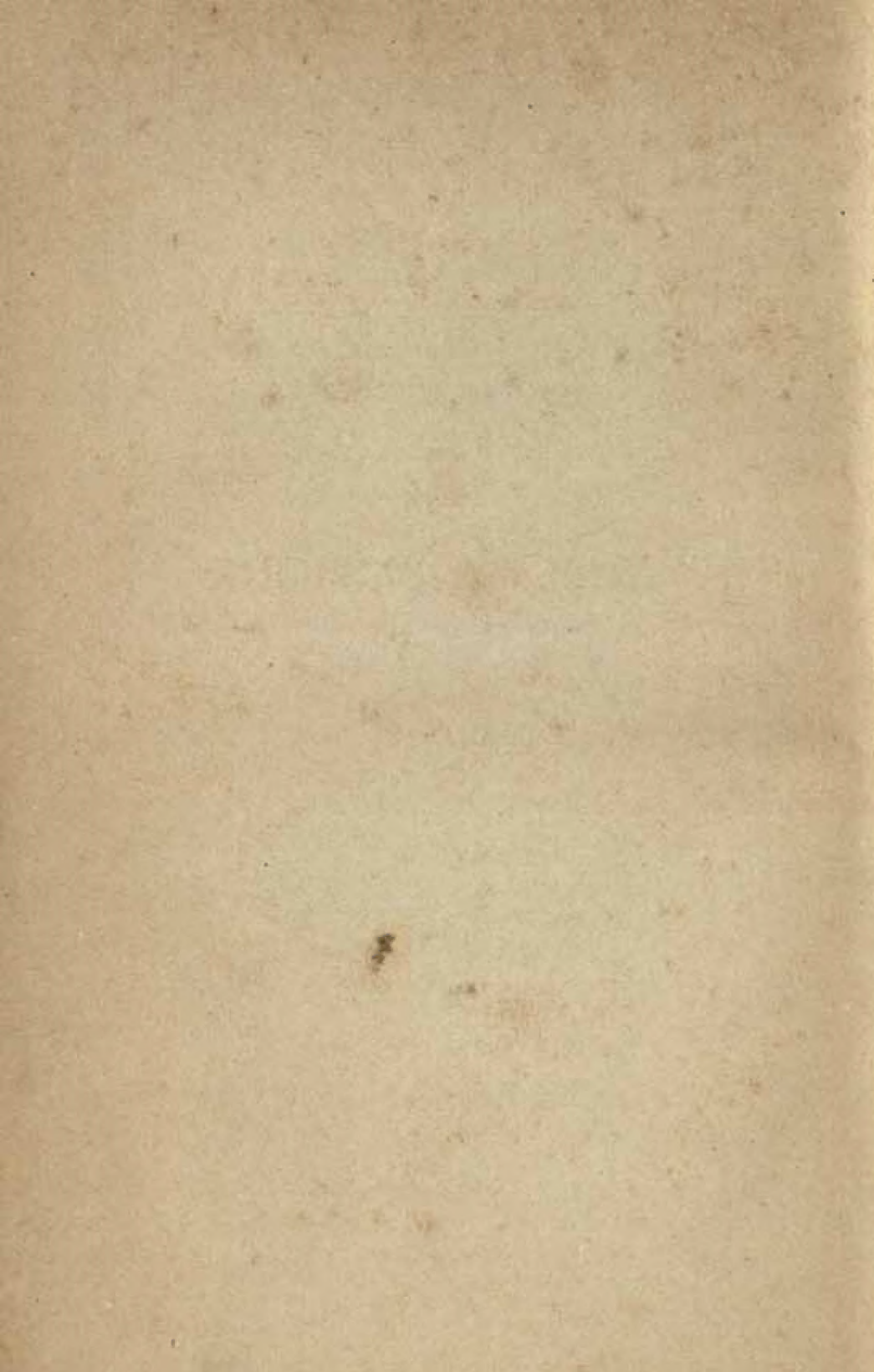




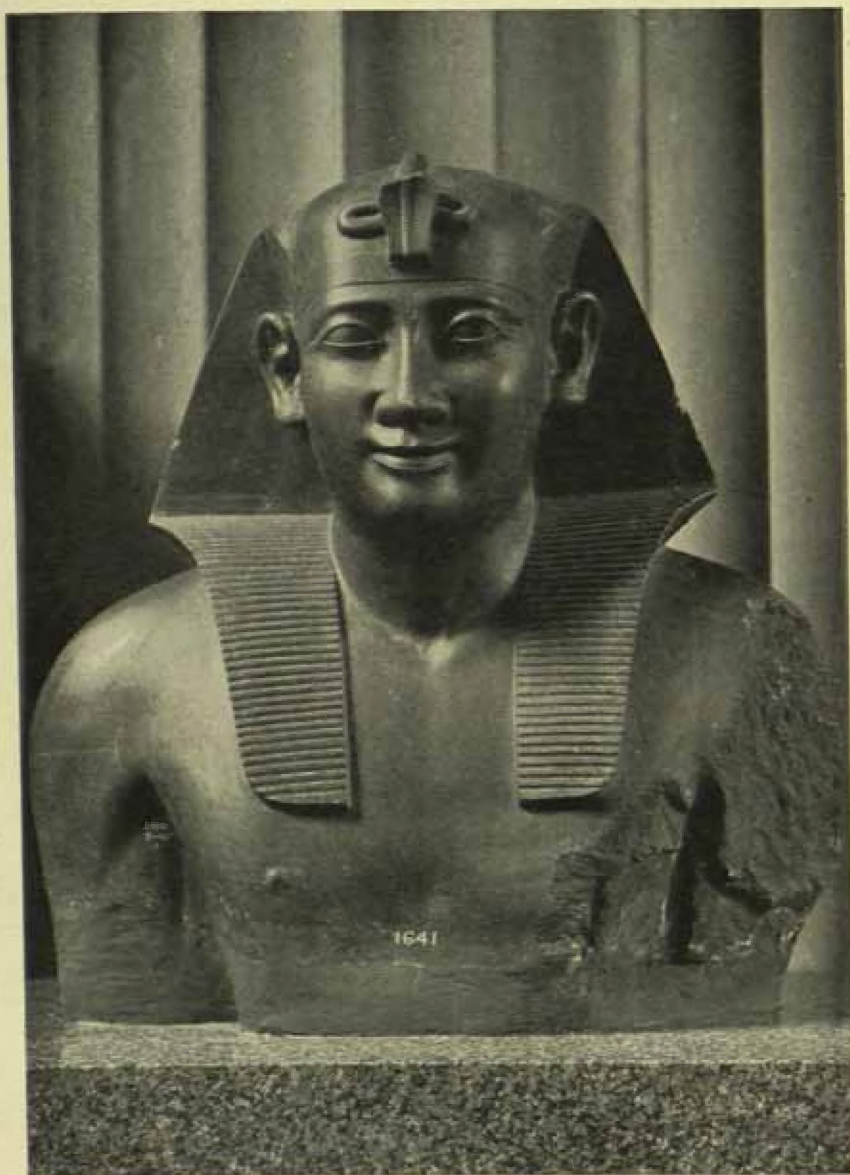
BY NILE AND TIGRIS

VOLUME I.









Head of a black basalt portrait statue of Ptolemy XIII (?).

Brit. Mus., No. 1641.

BY NILE AND TIGRIS

A NARRATIVE OF JOURNEYS IN EGYPT
AND MESOPOTAMIA ON BEHALF OF
THE BRITISH MUSEUM BETWEEN THE
YEARS 1886 AND 1913.

BY SIR E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, Kt.,
M.A. AND LITT.D. CAMBRIDGE, M.A. AND D.LITT. OXFORD,
D.LIT. DURHAM, F.S.A.

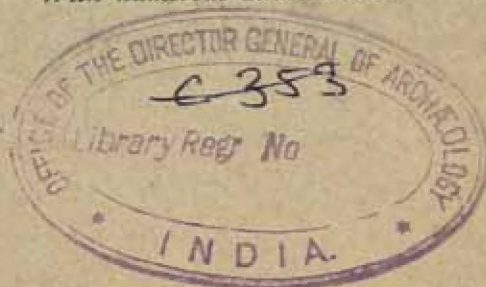
SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND TYERWHITT
HEBREW SCHOLAR.

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.

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VOLUME I.

With numerous Illustrations.



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PREFACE.

IN 1907 I published a work entitled "The Egyptian Sûdân," in which I gave some account of the history of that country in ancient and modern times, and a description of the excavations which I had made on the pyramid-fields of Napata and the Island of Meroë, during the years 1899-1905, for the Trustees of the British Museum. After the publication of that work, I decided to put on record, when circumstances should permit, a narrative of my three Missions to Mesopotamia in 1887, 1888 and 1890, and of my many Missions to Egypt to excavate and to acquire antiquities for the Trustees of the British Museum, and the present volume is the result of this decision. At the suggestion of friends I have prefaced my narrative by some notes on the influences and circumstances which led me to study the ancient languages of Western Asia, Egypt, and Ethiopia, and determined the work of my life in the Department of Oriental Antiquities,¹ in the British Museum.

In the present volume, as in my work on the Egyptian Sûdân, the narrative is based on series of letters written to my wife. With one exception, these letters all reached home, thanks to the arrangements that I made personally with the Tattariyin, or Turkish postal couriers; and my note-books furnish the main facts in the period covered by the missing letter.

In the course of my narrative, I have often given the names of people who have helped me in my work abroad. But there are many others whom I have not named,

¹ The title of the Department was changed by the Trustees in 1886 to "Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities."

both Europeans and natives, who also helped me there ; and to them all I offer my thanks. Furthermore, my grateful thanks are due to three devoted friends who read the proof-sheets of this book, and, though in their criticisms of it they dealt very faithfully with me, its completion is largely due to their encouragement and sympathy.

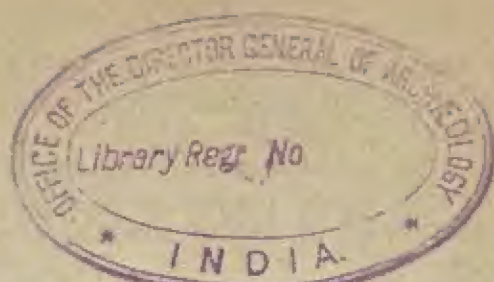
With regard to the illustrations, I beg to offer my thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum for permitting me to photograph some of the objects that I acquired for them in these journeys ; and to my colleague, Mr. Idris Bell, for selecting the most suitable passages in the Greek papyri. I would also thank my old friend, Mr. A. B. Holland, for placing at my disposal a number of photographs that he took on the Tigris, Euphrates and Kârûn, on which rivers his official position gave him unrivalled opportunities ; and likewise Captain the Rev. H. R. Cooke, M.C., Vicar of Princetown, for photographs of Mōşul and Sâmarrâ.

Whilst writing the description of the "Arch" of Ctesiphon I asked Mr. Holland to make enquiries in Baghdâd with the view of finding out when the side of it which is wanting collapsed, and the reason for its collapse. In a letter recently received from him he tells me that a friend of his in Baghdâd has found in a diary kept by the late Mr. Svoboda of that city, a statement to the effect that one half of the "Arch" of Ctesiphon fell down in the spring of 1887. The Tigris rose in that year to a very great height, and its waters spread in all directions for miles, and flooded the site of the "Arch," causing one side of it to collapse.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

January 2nd, 1920.



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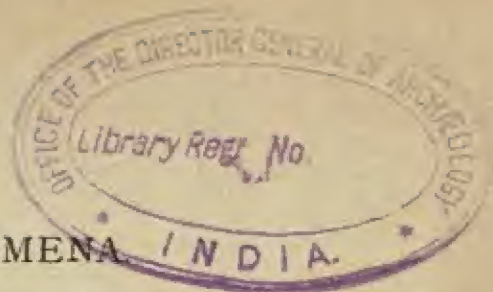




PROLEGOMENA (EARLY STUDIES)

1865-1883.





PROLEGOMENA. I N D I A.

(EARLY STUDIES.)

LOVE for the East and for the things of the East was born in me, and this is not surprising seeing that several generations of my forbears served the Honourable East India Company in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and at Al-Basrah (Busra) on the Shatt-al-'Arab, and at various ports in the Persian Gulf. My earliest recollections are associated with figures of Indian gods, sandal wood and red lacquer boxes, inlaid stands, curious plaques inlaid with mother-of-pearl and coloured woods, carved brass vessels of weird shapes, strange objects from China, Japan, and Java, which filled me with wonder, and bundles of strips of inscribed palm leaves, which I was told were books. These last were a perpetual marvel to me, and even in those days I was fascinated by the strange-looking characters, and longed for someone to explain them to me, and help me to read and understand them.

In 1865 I was sent to school, and we were worked hard, for the masters spared neither themselves nor us. We began work at six in the morning, winter and summer, and the periods allowed for games and recreation were not so generous as those which schoolboys enjoy at the present time. The head master, who was a kinsman of mine, believed that it was good for boys to read books on any subject unconnected with their lessons when the tasks for the day were satisfactorily disposed of, and to a few of the older boys he practically gave the run of his own private library. This library he inherited from one of my Quaker forbears, who had been an eager but non-productive student of the Languages and Literatures of Semitic peoples, and it contained many hundreds of volumes, all connected with the subjects of his special study. The Greek, Latin, French and Italian classics,

standard annotated editions of the works of ancient authors, etc., were kept in another of the school houses for general use. I looked for books which would tell me about India and China, and the things from these countries which I had been accustomed to see, but I looked in vain. More than one half of the books in the library were devoted to systems of religion invented by European theologians, whose views were of a very rigid and uncompromising character. Besides these there was a whole row of old hymn books,¹ chiefly of the eighteenth century, and scores of volumes and pamphlets explaining and commenting on the views and tenets of the Quakers, Muggletonians, Sandemanians, Glassites, Wesleyans, Swedenborgians, Calvinists, Scotch Covenanters, Welsh Evangelists, Baptists of many kinds, Plymouth Brethren, etc. Among the Oriental books were the famous Lexicons of Golius and Freytag (Arabic), Castell and Schaff (Syriac), Buxtorf and Gesenius (Hebrew), and Ludolf (Ethiopic), many printed editions of Semitic versions of the Old and New Testaments, Buxtorf's Treatise on the Hebrew Vowel Points, the Polyglot of Walton, a Latin translation of the *Kur'ân*, and a number of elementary books and grammars by writers whose names are now rarely mentioned.

Every boy who had the run of this library was

¹ The books which treated of theology and systems of salvation I found dull, and a few of them were terrifying, but there was much in the hymn books which interested and amused me, and many verses of them I committed to memory. Thus Mr. John Peat, in singing of the end of the world, says:—

"The bishops will then lodge with devils and swine
Instead of a silk gown to clothe the false rubbish,
Or bottle of claret to please his proud heart,
Or fine high-cocked mitre to make him look bobbish,
The waters of death will new torments impart."

Of Eve Mr. J. Miller wrote:—

"Before she did a being come
She was by God designed,
A net to catch the Devil in,
And propagate mankind."

expected to choose a subject, and to study it systematically, and once a week the head master asked him questions about his reading, with the view of finding out if the books were being used by him to the best advantage. As I wanted to learn all I could about the wars of the kings of Israel and Judah, and as the idea of being able to read the Books of Samuel and the Books of the Kings in the original attracted me greatly, I determined to learn Hebrew. The head master consulted Mr. Charles W. Seager,¹ the distinguished translator of the Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon of Simonis, at that time a famous work, and by his advice I was allowed to work regularly at Wolff's Hebrew Grammar, and at some of the easier passages in the Hebrew text of the Five Books of Moses. After I had worked at Hebrew for a couple of years, Mr. Seager added Syriac to my studies, and under his guidance I read the Four Gospels in the Peshittâ Version, as edited by Dr. Lee for the British and Foreign Bible Society. He was a firm believer in the value of the study of Semitic languages educationally as well as theologically, and every one who was brought into close contact with him caught some of the fire of his enthusiasm, and worked willingly for him, and strove to win his approval.

During the last few years of his life Mr. Seager devoted much time and attention to the cuneiform inscriptions, which the translations of George Smith had helped to bring prominently before the learned public.

¹ He was an Oxford man, and lectured on Hebrew and other Semitic dialects under Dr. Pusey. He went over to Rome, and in 1874 Monsignor Capel (died 1911) appointed him to the chair of Hebrew and Comparative Philology in the College of Higher Studies at Kensington, which was intended to be the nucleus of a Roman Catholic University. From 1869-1877 he was one of the ablest and most trusted advisers of Dr. Samuel Birch on the affairs of the Society of Biblical Archæology. I continued to work under him for several years, and visited him at his house on Brook Green weekly for the purpose. I received my last lessons from him during the summer of the year in which he died (1878). I found in him a kind, helpful, and judicious friend. He made no attempt to modify or change my religious views, as he believed me to be "invincibly ignorant."

In the study of these he saw great educational advantages, but he was convinced that no student had any prospect of mastering their contents unless he was equipped with a good working knowledge of Biblical Hebrew and Syriac. By his advice I obtained in 1871 Smith's "Phonetic Values of Cuneiform Characters"¹ and his "Annals of Ashur-bani-pal," and began to copy out the cuneiform characters, and to learn their values. In December, 1872, Smith read before the Society of Biblical Archæology his translation of the "Chaldean Account of the Deluge," three fragmentary copies of which existed in the British Museum. The value of the contents of several of the larger fragments had been recognized by Rawlinson and Oppert² some years previously, but Smith was the first to arrange the fragments in their proper order, and to give a connected rendering of the legend in English. The paper was read in the very large room at 9, Conduit Street, which was usually employed for exhibitions of pictures. The portion of the room set apart for the general public was crowded, and the platform was packed with scholars, theologians, archæologists, and politicians, including Mr. W. E. Gladstone and Mr. Childers, and the audience listened breathlessly whilst Smith, with characteristic modesty, described the Legend of the Sumerian Noah. The discussion which followed was worthy of the paper, and was most unusually interesting.³

The immediate result of Smith's paper, which marks

¹ This list contained all cuneiform signs of which the values had been deduced by Hincks, and all the signs in the list which Sir Henry Rawlinson had compiled for his own private use, and the additions made to it by Smith himself.

² See *The Times*, December 8th, 1872, where Rawlinson is reported to have said that 12 or 15 years ago (*i.e.*, between 1857 and 1860) he had just escaped discovering the bit of the tablet which actually mentioned the Flood.

³ Sir Henry Rawlinson presided, and among those on the platform were Dean and Lady Augusta Stanley, Mr. Giffard, Q.C. (the present Lord Halsbury), J. M. Rodwell, Samuel Birch, and Emmanuel Deutsch. *The Times* remarks (December 14th, 1872, p. 7) "The meeting concluded at a late hour."

an epoch in the annals of Assyriology, was a rush to the British Museum by the public to see the baked clay tablets from Nineveh, from which the Legend had been recovered. Among those who went was Mr. Seager, and he took me with him. He called upon Dr. Samuel Birch, Keeper of Oriental Antiquities, and introduced me to him, and whilst Mr. Seager told him of the attempts I had made to learn the cuneiform characters, he listened with much interest. As we were leaving he told me that I might come to him there in that room during official hours, whenever I could find time to do so, and that he would lend me books which would help me, as I was too young to be admitted to the reading-room. I lost no time in claiming his promised help, and I soon became a regular visitor to the little room, which was entered through a door at the south-west corner of the Nineveh Gallery, and was guarded by Dr. Birch's stern-looking but benevolent attendant, Mr. Slaughter. This room no longer exists, the building of the Mausoleum Room making its removal necessary.

When Dr. Birch found that I was availing myself of the privilege of reading in his room to the best of my ability, he began to select works from the library of his department for me to read, and when necessary he had books brought from the Department of Printed Books for my use. In this way I became familiar with the works of Rich, Kinneir, Buckingham, Ker Porter, Welsted, Chesney, Layard, Loftus, and other authorities on Mesopotamian travel and discovery. All these works I was obliged to read in the Museum, for they could not be removed from the building, and I found it difficult to obtain the books I needed for work at home. In the summer of 1873 I was introduced by W. R. Cooper,¹ Secretary of the Society of Biblical Archæology,

¹ This remarkable man was "discovered" by Mr. J. Bonomi, Curator of Sir John Soane's Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields, who found him when still a boy earning his living by designing patterns for carpets. Being greatly impressed by some of his Egyptian designs, Bonomi advised him to devote himself to Egyptological work, and helped him to obtain it. He studied the writings of Birch, Chabas,

to W. S. W. Vaux,¹ Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature, who allowed me to borrow many books from the Library of the Society, and take them home to read.

In the autumn of the same year I was introduced by Dr. Birch to George Smith,² soon after his return from

de Rougé, and other Egyptologists with success, and he wrote a number of papers and pamphlets, "Egyptian Obelisks," the "Serpent Myths of Egypt," etc. His zeal, enthusiasm, tireless activity, and tact enabled him to draw a great many scholars together, and induced them to devote their energies to a common object. Though neither an Egyptologist nor Assyriologist, he succeeded in founding the two series of books, "Records of the Past," and the "Archaic Classics," and in establishing the "Archaic Classes," and in filling the "Transactions" of the Society of Biblical Archaeology with valuable papers. He was tall in stature, but his stoop made him to appear of medium height; he had finely cut features and a large aquiline nose. He was nicknamed "the Etruscan" because his features resembled those of the male figure on an Etruscan Sarcophagus* in the British Museum. His zeal and activity consumed his frail body, and an attack of phthisis compelled him to retire to Ventnor in 1876, where he died two years later at the early age of 35.

¹ Born February 28th, 1818, died June 21st, 1885. He entered the Museum in 1841, and was Keeper of Coins and Medals from 1861 till 1870. He was President of the Numismatic Society from 1855 till 1874, and Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1875 till his death. His works, "Nineveh and Persepolis," which went through several editions, and "Persia," did much to popularize the study of Oriental Archaeology in England. I visited him frequently at his house, 102, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, and saw there Rawlinson's original copy of the texts of the Behistûn Inscriptions. He showed me great kindness, and lent me the volumes of Rawlinson's "Cuneiform Inscriptions."

² He was at that time Dr. Birch's assistant. I remember that he was a man of medium height, shy and nervous. He was thoroughly tired out, and had found travelling through the desert to Nineveh very exhausting. He had a broad, high forehead, and keen eyes set rather close together, and he wore a short beard. His hands were small, and his fingers were long and had curiously pointed tips. The staff of the Museum generally saw very little of him, and he passed his days in his little room on the south-west staircase in sorting tablets and in copying texts, which he took home to work out. A fairly good portrait of him appeared in the *Christian Herald* for November 17th, 1876 (No. 46), and a memoir, by Mr. Turpin, of the British Museum, and a summary of his work accompanied it.

* B. 609, published by A. S. Murray, *Greek and Etruscan Terracotta Sarcophagi in the British Museum*. London, 1898, fol. plates IX-XI.

his First Mission to Assyria. He was describing his work among the ruins of Kuyûnjik (Nineveh), and its difficulties, with an air almost of apology, although the results which he obtained proved that his Mission had been a splendid success. His portion of modesty was so great that I have since thought that he left very little of that quality for the use of later Assyriologists who have built upon his foundations. He was kind to me, and was interested to hear that I had worked at his "Sign-List" and "Ashur-bani-pal," and he promised to give me a list of the errata in his "Phonetic Values," and of the signs which must be added to the work. He told me that there was only one way of learning cuneiform characters, and that was by copying a piece of text each day, and by trying to transliterate the signs in it. He cared for Assyrian texts and for very little else. I remember feeling that he seemed to think that the time I had spent in reading books of Mesopotamian travel was so much time wasted, and that he took very little interest in the early literature of Assyriology. He possessed some knowledge of Hebrew, and was able to use the Hebrew-English Lexicon, edited by Tregelles, with great advantage, but he attached little importance to the other Semitic dialects for his special line of study, and he made no attempt to learn Syriac or Arabic. The works of Grotefend and Lassen were sealed books to him, for he could not read either German or Latin.

Before leaving the room he suggested that Dr. Birch should let me have from the cases in the Gallery some of the fragments of the historical texts that he had published in his "History of Ashur-bani-pal," and that I should copy them, and collate my copies with his printed text in order to correct my mistakes. This suggestion was readily agreed to, and fragments of tablets were given out to me to copy in Dr. Birch's room whenever I could find time to go to the Museum. Soon after my conversation with Smith he left England on his Second Mission to Assyria, and was absent for several months. On his return he brought back a mass of valuable new material, and many fragments of tablets, which he succeeded in

rejoining to their counterparts, some of which had been obtained by himself on his former Mission, and some by Layard. His time was very fully occupied, and I saw little of him. I continued to work on the lines which he suggested, and was helped from time to time by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who was then actively engaged at the Museum in revising the plates of the fourth volume of his great corpus of texts, the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia." He gave me a set of plates of this volume, and a copy of the first volume, which contained a mass of historical texts, and he lent me his working copy of cuneiform characters, which he had compiled for the use of Mr. Bowler, the lithographer. On several occasions he tested my progress by asking me to read to him portions of the "Standard" Inscription of Ashur-naṣir-pal from the bas-reliefs in the Nimrūd Gallery.

In 1874 the Oriental Congress met in London, and Dr. Birch was unanimously elected President. I had the good fortune to see and to talk with many of the distinguished Orientalists from the Continent who visited Dr. Birch at this time, and from their conversations with him I learned a great deal about Oriental matters. I also made the acquaintance of Mr. Basil Cooper,¹ a writer on *The Times*, and he introduced me to Mr. William Simpson,² the famous artist, for some of whose Oriental

¹ He was deputed by the Editor of *The Times* to report the meetings of the Oriental Congress, and his abstracts of papers and his summaries of discussions were said to be admirable, both as regards substance and form. He took a keen personal interest in the discoveries which were made in the early "seventies" by Assyriologists and Egyptologists, and it was well said of him that he made the "dry bones" of Egypt and Assyria to live. It was also said that his well-written and informing articles contributed greatly to the success of the Congress.

² This remarkable man was born in 1823 and died in 1889. He is famous as the first war artist, and was with the British Army from 1854 to the end of the Crimean War. He went to Abyssinia with Lord Napier of Magdala in 1866, and was a prisoner with Marshal Bazaine in Metz; he is said to have witnessed the surrender of Napoleon III. He sketched the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund in Jerusalem, and collected on the spot a great deal of important informa-

sketches I supplied the facts which he worked up into his "descriptive notes." At one of the meetings of the Hamitic Section of the Congress a resolution was passed declaring that the time had come when arrangements ought to be made whereby instruction could be given to students of Egyptology and Oriental Archæology generally. The task of giving effect to this resolution was committed to Mr. W. R. Cooper (see page 7), who threw himself heart and soul into the work. Mr. Wyatt Papworth, the distinguished architect, placed a room in his house in Bloomsbury Street¹ at his disposal, and Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, the banker,² undertook to be responsible for the necessary expenses during the first

tion about the Tomb of our Lord, which he published in his paper on Jerusalem in the "Transactions" of the Society of Biblical Archæology. He also sketched Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Troy for the *Illustrated London News*. He travelled in many parts of the world, and the intercourse which he enjoyed with men of all climes and creeds made him tolerant and broad-minded. He always sank his personal interest in that of his work. His common sense enabled him to intervene successfully at the meetings of learned societies when discussion became acrimonious, and his sense of humour saved many a tense situation. It was well said of him that "Wherever he goes he takes fresh air with him, and helps you to breathe better." His autobiography, edited by G. Eyre Todd (London, 1903, 8vo), is a most interesting account of the doings and travels of a man who worked hard and lived hard, who accepted success and failure with equanimity, who was a sympathetic and delightful friend, and who kept his belief in God and his friends to the very end.

¹ A large hotel now occupies the site of the greater part of the block of buildings in which this house stood.

² He devoted the last thirty years of his life to the study of the chronological problems of the Bible. He recognized the importance of Assyriology for the subject of his special study, and he was the generous patron of all those who worked at it. His munificence secured the publication of Smith's *Histories of Ashur-bani-pal and Sennacherib*, and he provided funds to found the Society of Biblical Archæology. He defrayed the cost of printing his own papers in the "Transactions" of the Society, and of those of other scholars who were working on subjects which were connected with ancient history and chronology, e.g., the paper on the Egibi tablets, by W. St. Chad Boscawen. His works on Bible chronology and his "Messiah the Prince, or the Inspiration of the Prophecies of Daniel" (London, 1867), created great general interest.

were out of print, and copies of these works sold at a high premium. The fifth volume of Bunsen's "Egypt's Place in Universal History," which contained Dr. Birch's "Hieroglyphic Dictionary,"¹ could only be obtained at the cost of several pounds, and I was obliged, when attending the Egyptian classes, to copy out the whole Dictionary on sheets of tracing paper. Dr. Birch, and other scholars who lectured to the students of the "Archaic Classes," made a gallant attempt to supply them with elementary handbooks, and induced Mr. R. Bagster, the Director of the famous old Bible-house in Paternoster Row, to publish a series of works called the "Archaic Classics." Dr. Birch edited a volume of Egyptian texts, with transliterations and translations; Mr. Renouf wrote an Egyptian Grammar, Professor A. H. Sayce wrote an Assyrian Grammar and a volume of lectures, and I edited a little book of extracts from historical Assyrian texts. All the authors and editors of the above-mentioned books received no payment for

¹ This Dictionary was printed in the fine, solid, Egyptian hieroglyphic type, which was specially designed by J. Bonomi (born 1796, died 1878), Curator of Sir John Soane's Museum. Bonomi lived in Egypt for many years, and made the copies of the texts which were printed in Burton's "Excerpta Hieroglyphica," and the drawings for Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians"; and Lepsius, when collecting material for the "Denkmaeler," availed himself of his services in the preparation of many plates. He was not an Egyptologist, but he was undoubtedly a most accurate copyist. His drawings possessed the style and spirit of the originals, and those which he coloured were remarkable for their delicacy and beauty. He painted the casts in the British Museum which were made by him for Hay from the walls of the temples of Bêt al-Walî and Abû Zibbîl (Abû Simbel) in Nubia, and as most of the colours have now disappeared from the originals these casts are of special value. His copy of the texts and vignettes on the alabaster sarcophagus in the Soane Museum, which he published under the name of the "Sarcophagus of Oimenephtah," is still valuable. There is scarcely a book or paper on Egypt which was published between 1830 and 1860 which is not adorned by his drawings or facsimiles of texts. He was a great friend of Edward Lane, and illustrated many of his popular works. His stories of Oriental life and character were delightfully told, and were as much appreciated by Orientals as by Europeans.

their work. Professor Sayce devoted much time and attention to his students, and he was so kind as to revise and correct the exercises and attempts at translation which he encouraged me to make, and returned them to me by post. In this way I copied out and translated the whole of the inscriptions of Ashur-naşir-pal, Shalmaneser II, Esarhaddon, etc.

Meanwhile I continued to read Hebrew and Syriac regularly with Mr. Seager at his house on Brook Green, and in the summer of 1877 he began to discuss with other friends of mine the possibility of obtaining for me some appointment in which I could make use of the knowledge of Semitic Languages which I possessed, and also add to it. When Mr. W. E. Gladstone was consulted he wrote to friends at Cambridge about the matter. In reply they told him that every one who intended to make the study of the cuneiform inscriptions the work of his life should be equipped with a good working knowledge at least of all the Semitic Languages, and of Comparative Semitic Philology. They further pointed out to him that the University had recently established the Semitic Languages Tripos, and said that they would welcome students who would take their degrees in it. Mr. Gladstone then asked Mr. Seager if a degree could be obtained in Semitic Languages at Oxford, and when he was told that no Semitic Languages School was in existence at Oxford, he consulted Dr. Birch and Dr. William Wright, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, about the matter. Dr. Birch's view agreed with that of Mr. Seager, but Professor Wright, though sharing their view, said with characteristic vigour and conciseness, "The man who takes up the study of Semitic Languages with the idea of making a living by them in England is a fool. Assyriology has, undoubtedly, a future, but nowhere in England can a man make a living by it except in the British Museum."

This discouraging opinion of the low commercial value of a knowledge of the ancient Semitic Languages by the greatest master of them then living in England in no way altered Mr. Gladstone's views as to their

two or three years. Courses of lectures were given by Dr. Birch on the Turin Papyrus of the "Book of the Dead," and on the "Tale of the Two Brothers"; by Professor E. Naville on the recently discovered tombs of the XIIth dynasty at Beni Hasan and the texts found in them, and by the Rev. A. H. Sayce on Assyrian historical inscriptions. The lecturer wrote on a black-board the text which he was going to discuss and translate, and each student took away a printed paper containing questions which were to be answered in writing, and handed to the lecturer at his next lecture. The papers contained short passages printed in hieroglyphic and cuneiform types, and the student was required to translate or at least transliterate as many as possible. Among those who attended these classes were Mr. Walter Morrison, Solomon Drach,¹ the Rev. D. J. Dunbar Heath,² Canon Beechy, Dr. Löwy, W. St. Chad Boscawen, Mr. Hay, and Miss Clendinning.

The "Archaic Classes" were a success as long as the lecturers gave their services, and Mr. Bosanquet paid the expenses of printing the exercise sheets in Egyptian and Assyrian, and Mr. Papworth provided the room for the lectures. But as soon as the attempt was made to put them on a business base they became a failure. This was due to two causes: (1) lack of students, (2) lack of

¹ He was a great Hebrew scholar, and a man with a very interesting personality and of varied attainments. He was a poet, and made excellent rhymed translations of passages from the Bible. He wrote on the "Statistics of Marriage in England" (London, 1859), on the "Circle-arc and Heptagon-chord," "An Easy General Rule for Filling Up Magic Squares," "Hebrew Almanack-signs," "Observations on the Base-length of the Great Pyramid," "Pyramid Casing Stones," etc.

² He wrote on the Exodus Papyri (London, 1855), and edited some "Phœnician Inscriptions" (Pt. I, London, 1873). He described one day at great length a difficulty which he had had with Bishop Sumner of Winchester. In 1859 he preached a series of sermons in which, *inter alia*, he laid it down that notwithstanding the almighty power of God, He was unable to restore the sinner to the state in which he was before he sinned. A suit was instituted against him, and he was deprived of his living at Brading, Isle of Wight. His "Proverbs of Aphobis, B.C. 1900, now first translated from the Egyptian" (printed at Ryde), created some interest, and the pamphlet is now rare.

elementary handbooks. The students who joined the classes during the second year found that they could not keep pace with those of the first year, for the lecturers had not time to repeat their lectures of the first year and to prepare new ones for the students of the second year. In these days, when there are so many elementary handbooks on the Egyptian and Assyrian languages and archæology, it is well-nigh impossible to realize that in England, in 1875, no such books existed. The volumes of cuneiform texts, and the facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic papyri, which were issued without hieroglyphic transcripts, were costly, unwieldy, and unsuitable for the use of beginners. The few books which had been published by private benefactors, *e.g.*, Norris's "Assyrian Dictionary"¹ and Smith's "History of Ashur-bani-pal,"

¹ Edwin Norris I saw only once, in 1872, when he was an old man. He was a great Cornish scholar and an expert on African languages, but his greatest work is his edition of the Scythic version of the Behistûn Inscription, which he published with a translation and analysis in 1855. The general accuracy of his work remains unchallenged to this day. His insight into the language was so great that nearly all the emendations of the text of Rawlinson's first copy of the Persian version, which he suggested to him by letter, when verified on the Rock of Behistûn, were found to be the true readings. [Rawlinson was Consul-General of Baghdâd at the time, and Norris had undertaken to see his "Memoir" through the press.] He copied many of the texts in the first two volumes of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," and his work on the syllabaries and grammatical tablets forms the foundation upon which many have built. His "Assyrian Dictionary" remains unfinished, but the three volumes which appeared between 1868 and 1870 are a fine monument of his power of work and linguistic skill. For many years it was the only book which was of real help to the beginner. The labour spent in its compilation was enormous, and his knowledge of unpublished texts exhibited in it is wonderful. Its appearance silenced once and for all the voice of learned scoffers at the system of Assyrian decipherment as laid down by Rawlinson, Hincks and others. Norris was a simple-minded, quiet and unassuming man, with all the shyness and modesty of the laborious scholar; his merits have not been sufficiently recognized, and the work which he put into other men's books has not been adequately acknowledged. He lived long enough to see Smith's translation of the "Deluge Tablet" in type, and to rejoice in the success of this able decipherer of cuneiform texts, who had worked for four years under his advice and direction.

importance for the study of the cuneiform inscriptions. He proposed that I should continue to work on the lines which I have already described for another year at least, and then go to Cambridge and take a degree in Semitic Languages.

About this time (1877) things happened which proved that, although a knowledge of Semitic Languages in general might be useless as a means of earning a living, there was some money to be made out of a knowledge of Assyrian. Through the recommendations of friends, and especially of Dr. Birch, the editors of various papers commissioned me to write short articles and notes on books and antiquarian matters, and although the payment was small the experience was of great value, and I felt that it was good to be doing work which was wanted. Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen had published a very valuable paper on certain contract tablets recording the commercial transactions of a great Babylonian firm of merchants and bankers, which flourished in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II under the direction of one Egibi. It was expected that important information concerning the Book of Daniel might be derived from these tablets, which Smith had acquired in 1876 for the British Museum, and in consequence Mr. J. W. Bosanquet (see p. 11) employed me to copy a considerable number of the tablets which Mr. Boscawen left unpublished, and paid me for my copies. Further, I was employed to translate into English the valuable paper¹ by the eminent French scholar, F. Lenormant, "*Les Noms de l'Aïrain et du Cuivre, dans les deux langues des inscriptions cunéiformes de la Chaldée et de l'Assyrie.*" Mr. N. Trübner, who was actively engaged in publishing his now famous "*Oriental Series*," wished to include in it volumes of Assyrian Texts, and he asked me to prepare an edition, with text and translation, of the historical inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, and I began to copy the texts without delay.

Always at the back of such offers of work, sooner or

¹ See *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, VI, 334-417.

later, I discovered the hand of Dr. Birch, or of friends prompted by him ; and not only did he recommend me for work, but he took care to see that I did it. He was generous in his help, and his friendly criticism was a thing to be thankful for. I have already said that I was born with the love of the East and of the things of the East in me, but it was Dr. Birch who shaped the course of that love, and who made it express itself in practical work. He gave me free access to his room, and showed me how to make the best use of it. He allowed me to handle and copy cuneiform tablets, he advised and directed and criticized my endeavours, and both by word and example he taught me not only how to find and to use my materials, but how to aim at becoming a productive worker. More than this, when reading or copying in his room I learned to know personally nearly all the great Oriental archæologists of the day, and nearly all the little band of scholars who were the contemporaries of Sir Henry Rawlinson and Dr. Birch, and who had successfully deciphered the Egyptian hieroglyphs and the cuneiform inscriptions. To sit and listen to such experts discussing their difficulties together, and comparing their facts and theories, was in itself an education in archæology to a beginner like myself. Students of all kinds flocked to Dr. Birch, partly because of his great and varied knowledge, partly because of his caution and the soundness of his judgment and the practical nature of his advice and suggestions, and partly because of his official position. He had seen the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs begun by Young, and developed and completed by Champollion,¹ and had worked out many important

¹ I have been sharply criticized for coupling the name of Young with that of Champollion in connection with the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs, and accused of attempting to belittle the splendid work of that eminent Frenchman. In answer to my critics I would say that I spent several months in studying the whole literature on Egyptian decipherment, and read and made notes on every book and paper in the British Museum which could throw any light on the

details of it; and he had seen the suggestions of Grotefend¹ and others tested by Rawlinson, Hincks, and Norris (see p. 13), and the publication of complete translations of the cuneiform inscriptions on the Rock of Behistûn,² and on the historical cylinders from Nineveh

subject: The result of my studies I published in the first volume of my "Decrees of Memphis and Canopus" (London, 1904), together with extracts from some apparently forgotten "Correspondence relative to the Rosetta Inscription," which appeared in *Museum Criticum*, No. VI, and was reprinted, with additions, by Leitch, in the third volume of his edition of the "Works of Young" (London, 1855, p. 16 ff.). To Champollion belongs the glory of working out a nearly complete Egyptian alphabet, and his knowledge of Coptic, and his philological insight generally, and his marvellous power of work, enabled him to publish hieroglyphic texts and a Grammar, which are the foundations of all modern interpretation. His "Notices Descriptives" (*Mouvements de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, Paris, 1844 ff.) contains translations of difficult texts which may be consulted even at the present time with advantage. Considering the time when he made them their general accuracy is truly wonderful.

¹ Born 1775, died 1853. The first good copies of cuneiform texts were published by Niebuhr in his "Reisebeschreibung." These were examined by Olaus Gerhard Tychsen (born 1734, died 1815), the famous Orientalist of Rostock, who all but proved that the Persian cuneiform characters were alphabetic. Grotefend was convinced that this view was correct, and worked out an alphabet containing about forty consonants and vowels, and identified three forms of cuneiform writing in the Behistûn inscriptions, and proved that they were to be read from left to right; he further assigned them to the period of the Achæmenidæ, and identified conjecturally the name of Darius. Many of his views were proved to be correct by E. Burnouf (born 1801, died 1852), and by C. Lassen (born 1800, died 1876), who in his "Die alt persischen Keilinschriften von Persepolis" practically completed the system of decipherment laid down by Grotefend and Burnouf. Rawlinson's great merit rests on the fact that he arrived at the same conclusions as these scholars without the help of books and when he was living in Persia and performing his arduous official duties; and he was the first to publish a complete translation of the inscriptions on the Rock of Behistûn.

² The Bahistûnu 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎡𐏁 of Yâkût (I, p. 269) and ὄρος Βαγίσταρον of Diodorus II, 13. It lies about 22 miles east of Kirmanshâh in the province of Persian 'Irâk. The sculptures of Darius and his inscriptions were fully treated by Rawlinson in the tenth volume of the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," and a very interesting

and Babylon. His position was unique, and his authority unquestioned, because he was the only servant of the Trustees of the British Museum who was intimately acquainted with the results of the excavations made by French and English explorers in Western Asia and Egypt,¹ and because he had charge of the Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum, and had practical knowledge of them. I have summarized elsewhere² the principal steps of his literary career, and published a list of his works, and many have written appreciations

description of Rawlinson's work at the Rock is given by Felix Jones (in No. XLIII—New Series of "Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government" (Bombay, 1857), compiled and edited by R. Hughes Thomas). He says in his notes for September 4th, 1844 (p. 176), "The afternoon of this day was devoted to cleaning the sculptures and inscriptions preparatory to Major Rawlinson's revising his former labours. The ladders had been carefully fixed, and the requisite ropes for assisting the ascent up the steep face of the lower portion of the scarp properly adjusted beforehand. In about a quarter of an hour, not without sundry scratches and bruises, the platform at the base of the tablet was gained, and operations commenced accordingly. From this time, until the 11th of the month, we remained in this vicinity. The Major constantly and indefatigably employed himself, from daylight to dark, revising, restoring, and adding to his former materials. This was a work of great irksomeness and labour in the confined space he was compelled to stand in, with his body in close proximity to the heated rock, and under a broiling September sun." Rawlinson first ascended the Rock in 1835, and during the two following years he continued to make ascents, and succeeded in copying the first column of the Persian text. In 1844 he copied the remaining columns, and also the Scythic version, and in 1847, with the help of a native, who scaled the Rock and made a paper squeeze of the Babylonian version, he was able to put revised copies of all these versions before the learned world. According to the trigonometrical measurements made by Rawlinson, the height of the Rock above the plain is 3,807 feet. A sketch of the Rock, made from a photograph, is given by Williams Jackson in "Persia, Past and Present" (London, 1906, p. 176).

¹ Viz., Salt, Belzoni, Wilkinson, Arundale, Bonomi, Hay, Burton, Harris, Rich, Ker Porter, Buckingham, Botta, Place, Layard, Rawlinson, Taylor, Oppert, etc.

² In the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology," vol. ix (1893), p. 143. See also "Dict. Nat. Biog.," vol. xxii, pp. 199-202.

of his literary labours,¹ but no writer has taken the trouble to describe adequately the man and his large-heartedness, and his great capacity for friendship, and therefore I propose to interpolate in my personal narrative a few remarks about him and the laborious life which he led in the British Museum, and about a few of his personal friends, whom I met in his room and learned to know.

In 1870, when I first saw Dr. Birch, he was in his 57th year, and in spite of the thirty-six years which he had passed in the service of the Government (two under the Commissioners of Public Records, and thirty-four in the British Museum), he was strong and vigorous, and of generous build. His skull was large and broad, with a fringe of white hair at the base, and he wore a short, fairly thick white beard, and a moustache trimmed, as his friends said, "in such a way as to add ferocity to his appearance." As to his features, the nose was large, the upper lip, which projected well over the lower lip, was full, the mouth large and firm, the chin broad and the jaw obstinate. His greyish-green eyes were deep-set, and nothing escaped them, and when he was moved to mirth they laughed before the muscles of his mouth relaxed. His hands were well shaped, strong, and nervous, and were never still; when he was talking their movements emphasized his remarks, and indicated to those who were much in his company the trend of his thoughts and the character of the decision at which he was arriving. His gait was that of a man whose thoughts travelled faster than his feet, and the length and quickness of his strides indicated with more than ordinary clearness the working of his mind at the moment.

His dress was simple, the most characteristic portion of it being his long, black broadcloth coat, which was usually tightly buttoned up, and often awry. His trousers were made of some light material, with a black and white stripe, or check-pattern, and he wore patent

¹ See the collection printed by his son, Dr. W. de Gray Birch, in "*Biographical Notices*" (London, 1886).

leather boots, with spring sides, often the worse for wear. His broad-brimmed black silk chimney-pot hat was quite the worst in the Museum, which is saying a good deal, and no one remembered it when it was new. He used to say that it was useless to brush any hat in the Museum, and that in any case his was not worth brushing, for the nap would never lie flat. The dust on its brim was so well established that a friend once told him that with the help of a little water, peas might be planted in it and they would grow. In small details of dress he was curiously careless, and in others he was almost dandified. There was a good deal of truth in the remark of one of his American friends who told him that he looked like a "cross between a jockey and a Bishop."

The room in the British Museum in which he worked was entered through a door in the south-west corner of the Nineveh Gallery, and was one of the additions made to the building when the architect realized that permanent officials needed accommodation on the premises. It was built over a section of basement containing apparatus connected with the heating of the Galleries, and the weird sounds which accompany the passage of hot water and steam through pipes, and the hissing of escaping steam, could be heard distinctly through the floor. Birch was firmly convinced that the engineer would one day lose control of his apparatus and blow the room and him in it up together. I have often seen him, when the sounds were especially loud or disturbing, rush out into the Gallery, and proclaim loudly to his attendant seated there that he would *not* stay in his room to be blown up at the engineer's good pleasure. When the noise was merely that of escaping steam, he contented himself by writing to the Clerk of the Works, and asking him to have the boiler fires extinguished at once! The room had two windows, one on the north side, which gave a good light, and one on the west side, which faced and was close to a blank brick wall. Before the former stood a writing table at which students could sit and work, and before the latter a long low case, with a sloping top, which was much used by Birch when consulting the

"ponderous tomes" of Rosellini, Champollion, and Lepsius. On the south side was a fireplace with a broad marble mantelpiece, on which stood a metal candlestick and candle, letter scales, a bottle of water and a glass, a dispatch box for official papers, agenda slips, etc., and a few Directories, English and foreign. In the summer a float-light burned in the fender (it was used in sealing letters), and in the winter the grate held a fire, of course. Over the mantelpiece hung a drawing of the "Coffin of Antef," and a large-faced clock, bearing the date 1857. On each side of the fireplace stood an upright, narrow, polished oak bookcase, and four other larger cases of similar pattern stood in other parts of the room. The floor was nearly covered by a very old and discoloured much-patched carpet, and in the centre of it stood another writing table at which Birch worked.

In this room, which only measured 18 feet by 16 feet, the whole of the business of the Department had to be transacted. Here Birch had to draft reports, often of a confidential character, and to answer letters, and visitors could, and often did, read as he wrote what he was writing. Here his interviews with officials and colleagues had to take place; here he had to discuss purchases and fix prices with dealers, in the presence of students who were reading or copying at the table by the window, and who, for the most part, listened to what was being said, and, whenever possible, joined in the conversation and gave their opinions on the business on hand. The marvel is that Birch acquired the knowledge he possessed of the collections under his charge, and that he did so much work, for though abounding in enthusiasm and nervous energy, he was not, physically, a strong man, and the perpetual interruptions to which he was subjected during the day left him always very tired in the late afternoon. From time to time assistants were appointed to his Department, but they did nothing to help him, and very often he was obliged to make copies of his letters with his own hand because the transcriber, whose duty it was to copy them, had engaged himself to a

more self-asserting colleague, or could not be found. Until the year 1883 he never had an assistant who took the trouble to "get up" enough Egyptian to assist him in registration. Smith entered the service of the Trustees in 1867 as a cleaner and rejoinder of fragments of tablets, and he continued to do this work until 1870, when he was made Senior Assistant in Birch's Department. Even then he took no part in the routine work of the Department. He did not even attempt to make available for examination and study by the public the bricks, tablets, etc., from which he derived his information about Assyria, and I never heard of his writing labels for the objects exhibited in the cases.

As soon as he became Birch's assistant, the copying of texts for Rawlinson's "Cuneiform Inscriptions" absorbed a good deal of his official hours, and the rest of his time he devoted to the search for duplicates of the "Deluge Tablet." Almost immediately after he read his paper on this Tablet in December, 1872, the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph*, with great public spirit, sent him to Nineveh to re-open the sites where Layard had made his great "find" of tablets in 1854, in order to obtain the missing fragments and to bring back new material. His First Mission was a great success, and soon after his return to England in the autumn of 1873, he was sent on his Second Mission, and did not return until the summer of 1874. Between this time and October, 1875, when he went on his Third Mission to Nineveh, he was engrossed with his own private work, and he rendered so little general assistance in the Department that when I asked for tablets to copy, it was Birch who took me to the cases in the Nineveh Gallery, and let me take out what I wanted.

To assist Birch in coping with the stream of visitors, and the mass of letters which were addressed to the Department after the publication of the "Deluge Tablet," the Trustees, during Smith's absence in the East, appointed as assistant a very capable and rising Assyriologist, Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen. But this gentleman, having been commissioned to search for texts which

"proved the Bible"—*i.e.*, for tablets inscribed in cuneiform with versions of the story of Adam and Eve, and the expulsion of Adam from Eden, and the narrative of the Book of Daniel—became entirely absorbed in this work, and Birch was as badly off for help as before. In 1886, ten years after Smith's death, the Trustees ordered a Catalogue of the Kuyûnjik Collection to be printed, and during the preparation of the material for this work more than 5,000 fragments of tablets were found in the cases unregistered and unmarked. The fact of the matter is that neither Smith nor his successor was qualified to arrange the collections of tablets for study, or even with a due regard for safe custody, for neither understood the value of systematic numbering and arrangement in dealing with a mass of fragmentary documents. Smith was the greatest copyist and the readiest decipherer of cuneiform that the Trustees ever had in their service, and the instinct which enabled him to divine the meaning of unknown words and obscure passages was almost uncanny, but his want of system in dealing with the mass of cuneiform material under his charge seriously delayed the progress of Assyriology.

Birch's principal official work was the cataloguing of the Egyptian Collection. He had first to see that each object was "marked," *i.e.*, had a registration number and date painted on it, and to superintend all the details of cleaning when necessary, and mounting; and when the objects were ready for exhibition he drafted the label which was painted on the mounts. He next entered in the Register a short description of them, with measurements, etc., and after this he wrote on slips of blue paper full descriptions of them, together with copies of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and added transliterations and, so far as he was able, translations. The progress of Egyptology made frequent revision of these slips necessary, and from first to last he wrote, re-wrote, and wrote a third time many thousands of slips. He found it impossible to catalogue all the Egyptian objects under his charge; nevertheless, the slips which he wrote form

ninety-eight volumes, which are preserved in the Department. He also spent many years in sorting and arranging and piecing together the broken Egyptian papyri, which the Trustees acquired through Salt,¹ Wilkinson,²

¹ Born 1780, died 1827. He was sent on a Mission to Abyssinia by the British Government in 1809, and was made British Consul-General of Egypt in 1815. He employed Belzoni (born 1778, died 1823) to excavate for him. He and Burckhardt (born 1784, died 1817) presented to the British Museum the bust of the colossal statue of Rameses II (Egyptian Gallery, No. 576). He excavated the temple of Rameses II at Abû Simbel, and subsidized the excavations of Caviglia and D'Athanasi. Two of Salt's Egyptian collections were bought by the British Museum, the first in 1823 for £2,000, and the second in 1835 for £4,500. The famous sarcophagus of Seti I was offered to the British Museum by Salt for £2,000, but the Trustees declined to purchase it, and it went to the Soane Museum, where it still is. Salt's collection of papyri was a very valuable addition to the British Museum Collection.

² I saw Gardner Wilkinson on various occasions when he came to discuss with Birch the preparation of a second edition of his popular work on the "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians." He had lived in Egypt for many years, and had excavated many tombs at his own expense, but he made no attempt to clear out any of the temples. He was the first to draw up a comprehensive plan of Western Thebes, and his descriptions of the remaining Theban monuments on both sides of the Nile were of very great use to generations of travellers. He watched the progress of Egyptian decipherment with sympathy and interest, but he had no special linguistic talent, and never professed to be an Egyptologist. His "*Materia Hieroglyphica*" (2 vols., Malta, 1828) was a very valuable work, and it shows that he had at that time arrived at most of the conclusions which were reached by Champollion, and that his general knowledge of the meaning of texts was very considerable. He had neither the gifts nor the enthusiasm which make a great collector, and the small collection of Egyptian antiquities which he bequeathed to Harrow School might have been made by his own dragoman. He loved digging out tombs, but their topography and architecture interested him far more than the antiquities his workmen found. The natives stole from his excavations, and sold their thefts to French and Italian amateurs in Egypt, many of whom made large and valuable collections. In 1842 the natives opened a tomb at Kurnah, which contained several thousands of scarabs inscribed with the names of kings of the XVIIIth dynasty; the floor of the mummy chamber was covered with a layer of them about 3 inches deep. A well known dragoman brought a *zibbil* (workman's basket) full of them over to Luxor, and offered the whole lot to him for half a *bint* (i.e., half a Napoleon), and he refused to buy them, saying that they were "useless things, like beads." I noticed

Burton, Hay,¹ Harris, and other collectors, and this difficult work had to be done under very difficult conditions, and amid incessant interruptions. In these days there are large rooms, containing long, wide tables, on which papyri are unrolled and "laid down," but at that time Birch had to sort out his fragments on wooden boards laid upon chairs. These boards were carried downstairs by a very aged and feeble attendant, who was supposed to paste them on paper in his room, but as often as not he shook the fragments into disorder on the way, and the sorting had to be done all over again.

If the reader will think for a moment he will remember that in the "seventies" there was no place where the general public could apply for information on Egyptology and Assyriology except Birch's Department; as a result his visitors were legion, and his correspondence was very great. He endeavoured to answer, or at least acknowledge, every letter with his own hand, for he took the view that the public had the right to have their letters answered by responsible officials, and, besides this, he wished to encourage the public to take interest in the subjects dealt with by his Department. He was appealed to for information on every kind of antiquity, and the experience and knowledge of coins of all kinds, Greek vases, Roman and British antiquities, etc., which he had gained during the first twenty years of his service in the Museum, enabled him to satisfy the interest or curiosity of most of his visitors and correspondents.

that his respect for Birch's knowledge of the Egyptian language was very great, and that he rarely ventured on passing an opinion on Egyptology unless it had his support. On more than one occasion he advised me to get to Egypt as soon as I could, saying that no man who had not seen that country could ever hope to understand its history. With a laugh he often told Birch that if he had had a knowledge of Egypt at first hand, he would have been the "perfect Egyptologist," and year by year he urged him to take if it were only a holiday in that country before he became too old. Birch did not take his advice, alas!

¹ Born 1799, died 1863. In addition to papyri there are in the British Museum forty-nine large volumes of his architectural drawings, sketches, etc. (See Add. MSS. 29,812-60.)

He was careful to answer fully every question which was the outcome of an honest desire to learn, and when possible he indicated the sources where further information was to be obtained. He was frequently asked for pecuniary help by former friends and acquaintances who had fallen upon evil days, and they rarely appealed to him in vain. In cases where his means did not permit him to help he applied to those of his personal friends who were wealthy, and they usually made him their almoner. He subscribed to several literary charities in order that he might be able to appeal with greater effect to their committees of distribution on behalf of those who both needed and deserved help.

Many editors of papers asked him to read over articles submitted to them for publication, and many contributors to papers were glad to sit and wait whilst he "ran his eye over" what they had written. One publisher would consult him about the publication of a book, and ask him if so and so were able to write a good book on such and such a subject; and another would apply to him to suggest illustrations for a book, and to tell him how and where to get them. Enthusiastic persons of both sexes who had weakly allowed themselves to promise to give lectures on the discoveries in Egypt and Assyria, and who thought that all they had to do was to read some book in which the information was given all ready cut and dried, came to Birch when they found that the book which they wanted was still unwritten, and he helped them to fulfil their promises.

Dealers in antiquities were frequent visitors to Birch's room, and the objects which they offered for purchase were sometimes of very considerable interest. By listening to Birch's remarks on the objects brought to him I learned a good deal about them, and also about their market value. I noted also that antiquities possessed commercial as well as archæological value, and that the acquisition of the knowledge of the current prices of antiquities among dealers and collectors formed a very important part of the education of a British Museum official. In those days a brisk trade in the

smaller antiquities from Egypt, Greece, and Assyria, was carried on by the dealers who lived near the Museum, and they and their clients were constantly coming in to show Birch their recent importations. Nowadays very few good things reach the dealers in England, for they are snapped up in Paris. Often the dealers had no desire to sell, but only to gain gratis an opinion as to the genuineness of their possessions, and to find out the meaning of any inscriptions which might be cut upon them, in order to be able to sell their goods to better advantage. As forgeries were already in the market, it behoved dealers to be careful, and their clients also. On one occasion a native of Diârbakr produced, among other things, certain coins, which Birch, after examining them, declared to be forgeries, and a further scrutiny revealed on their edges the letters RR, which were the initials of Robert Ready, the electrotypist of the Museum, who made them. On another occasion a Syrian brought some earthenware pots with inscriptions cut upon them in Phœnician letters, and he declared the vessels to be "Moabite Pottery." He also brought with him the copy of an inscription that he had made from a large stone coffin, with which the pots had been found, and he claimed that the coffin was that of Samson. Birch went to see the coffin, and though the name of Samson was easily legible upon the cover, its form was not that of the Samson of the Bible according to the Hebrew Scriptures, and he decided that the inscription was a forgery, and condemned both it and the pots. What became of the coffin I know not, but the pots were bought by a renowned Museum on the Continent, in the cellars of which they have been stored out of sight for the last thirty-five years.

A considerable number of antiquities of all periods drifted to Paris and London as the result of the excavations which Mariette was making all over Egypt, and many purchasers—*e.g.*, Hilton Price¹ and H. Bruce







¹ Born 1842, died 1909. He made a large and valuable collection of Egyptian antiquities, which he had mounted and labelled like the British Museum Collection. I described and translated the scarabs,

Meux¹—brought their acquisitions to Birch to be "passed" as genuine, and to have the inscriptions read. One of the commonest objects brought at that time to Birch was the scarab, of which large numbers were being "forged" in Egypt. The natives obtained the steatite in the country, and they covered their productions with

which he published in his fine and well-illustrated "Catalogue" (Quaritch, London, 1897), and supplied material for the "Supplement" (Quaritch, London, 1898). His collections, books, coins, etc., were sold after his death, and his Egyptian collection realized a little over £12,000. His knowledge of British, Romano-British, and mediæval antiquities was very considerable, and he collected with care and discernment. He was a generous supporter of all archæological undertakings in England, and assisted many learned Societies with his counsel, experience, and money.

¹ Born 1858, died 1900. I made his acquaintance whilst he was an undergraduate at Cambridge, and I saw him frequently in Birch's room; the first Sir Henry Meux and Birch's father had been friends. Mr. (later Sir) H. B. Meux inherited a small collection of Egyptian antiquities, which he added to during his visits to Egypt; he travelled up the Nile into Nubia and purchased some valuable objects, which he succeeded in getting out of Egypt. I published a Catalogue of this collection in 1893, and gave in it a description and a facsimile of the mummy and coffin which Mr. Walter Ingram had given to Lady Meux, and about which so many curious stories have been told. It has been freely stated that a curse is written on the coffin to the effect that any one who removed the mummy in it from its tomb should die childless, and suffer a horrible death. As a matter of fact, there is no curse written on the coffin, but a series of extracts from the late funerary work, "The Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys." A papyrus in the British Museum (Bremner-Rhind, No. 10, 188) contains a complete copy of this work, and a Colophon (see my *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, London, 1910, folio, p. 12) including a very comprehensive curse on the disturber of the mummy. Because extracts from the Festival Songs are painted on this coffin with which that papyrus was buried, it has been assumed that the curse is there also. In 1895, with the consent of the Trustees of the British Museum, I bought a large collection of Egyptian antiquities for Lady Meux, and catalogued and arranged them for her at Theobalds Park; the second edition of the Catalogue appeared in 1896. Sir Henry was greatly interested in antiquities of all kinds and in natural history. He was a great lover of animals, and an account of his attempt to keep an elephant, a bear, and emus and ostriches in his park would make amusing reading. He was a fine shot, and a humane as well a successful big-game hunter of the type of Sir Samuel Baker.

ancient glaze so successfully that it was almost impossible to detect their fraud. They crushed glazed beads from the coverings of mummies, and having smelted the glaze in a crucible they spread it over the scarabs by means of a blowpipe. On one occasion Walter Myers and his friend James Smith, an engineer, brought to Birch cornelian scarabs with their names cut upon them thus

   M-i-r-s, and    S-m-i-t. These scarabs were made and engraved at Kûrnah, a village on the west bank of the Nile, opposite Luxor, and the home of many forgeries.

Curiously enough, Birch's knowledge of Chinese enabled him to help the officials of the Chinese Embassy in London, as the following instances will show. One morning a Chinese official came to consult Birch, and he told him that a native of Peking had come to London, ostensibly on some financial business, and that he had been to the Embassy and asked for the support of the Ambassador in his work. This man had produced a document which purported to contain testimonials from high officials in China, and bore a long endorsement from some great personage, and impressions of seals. The Embassy had read the testimonials, but the endorsement they could not read, for although it was written in Chinese characters, these characters were unknown to them. He then handed the document to Birch, who read the testimonials easily, but the endorsement puzzled him for a time, and the official from the Embassy was not displeased. I do not know enough of the details to say exactly what the man who wrote the document had done, but I understood at the time that the characters of the endorsement were in reality quarters and halves of characters which were in use in China in very early times, and that Birch easily proved it to be a forgery as well as the seals. He transcribed the portions of the characters, and then rejoined them, and was able to show that the text which the forger had broken up in this way was an extract from a well-known Chinese classic. Birch then sent to the Library for a printed

copy of the work, and when it was brought he pointed out the passage which was used by the forger. Subsequently the Chinese Embassy received information that the man who had claimed the Ambassador's support was a notorious forger and swindler, who had succeeded in escaping to England. On another occasion the Marquis Tseng sent to Birch a couple of very old bronze vases, on the sides of which were inscriptions in a very complicated character, which neither he nor the Embassy officials could read. It took Birch a couple of days to find the clue, but at length he read the inscriptions, and identified them in the printed text of a work of an ancient poet.

Many have been surprised to learn that the great Egyptologist was such an accomplished Chinese scholar, but the fact is that Birch's father meant to send him to China, for he had many friends among the British mercantile communities in that country. With this object in view, he made his son study Chinese under a competent teacher, who not only taught him the classical language, but introduced him to many Chinamen who visited London. From these Birch gained a good knowledge of the spoken language, and this served him in good stead when he was making his English translations of Chinese novels, which became very popular in China, and had a considerable vogue.¹ Owing to the death of an influential friend the career in China proposed for Birch was abandoned, but it was his knowledge of Chinese which caused him to gain an appointment in the British Museum in 1836, and the first piece of work given him to do was to catalogue the Chinese coins there. Even in his special line of study, Egyptology, Chinese was useful to him, for it enabled him to clear up the difficulty which surrounded the little Chinese scent bottles, so many examples of which have been found in ancient Egyptian tombs. Some authorities

¹ Of special interest are " *Friends till Death*," " *The Elfin Foxes*," " *The Chinese Widow*," and the " *Casket of Gems* "; all these are now very scarce.

argued from the archaic form of the inscriptions on the bottles that they were certainly pre-Christian, and that the bottles might well date from the time of Rameses II, or even that of Thothmes III. But Birch proved that the inscriptions were extracts from the works of Chinese poets who flourished in the eighth and ninth centuries, and that the bottles were not older than the thirteenth century of our Era. This also was the opinion of the eminent Egyptologist and Sinologist, Goodwin.¹

Speaking generally, the visitors whom I met in Birch's room were of three classes: (1) Experts in some branch of Oriental archæology or in some Oriental language; (2) non-experts, who were seeking for information; (3) theorists and cranks; and taken together the three classes of visitors wasted a good deal of his official time. Among the first class I well remember Canon Isaac Taylor,² the distinguished student of the Etruscan Inscriptions, and author of many works. He wanted Birch to adopt his theory about the Etruscan language, and to accept his translations of the inscriptions. Birch was of opinion that no real progress could be made in translating Etruscan until a bilingual text was discovered, with one of the versions in some known language.³

¹ His greatest Egyptological work is his translation of the "Story of Saneha," which he made from the hieratic text published by Lepsius. He made out the general drift of the story, and his rendering has served as the base of all subsequent work on that difficult text. He possessed a natural genius for the decipherment of hieratic papyri, and his instinct in finding out the correct meaning of unknown words was remarkable. During the last twelve years of his life he sat as judge in the Supreme Court at Yokohama, but in spite of his heavy official duties he succeeded in gaining a very considerable knowledge of the Chinese literary language.

² Born 1829, died 1901. In his work "Etruscan Researches" (2 vols., London, 1874) he published the results of a close study of the Etruscan antiquities, and his theories about the family of languages to which he supposed Etruscan to belong. I paid him a visit at Settrington Rectory, Yorkshire, in 1888, and found that the criticisms of his opponents had not changed his views about the Etruscan language.

³ This was the answer which Birch gave also to those who invented systems of decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions, and time has

I remember, too, that the discovery of the "Moabite Stone"¹ disturbed the minds of many Christians and Jews, who regarded the inscription upon it as a forgery. Among these was Dr. A. Löwy, an eminent and very learned Rabbi, who came often and harangued us about the "Stone," and said that nothing would ever make him believe that Mesha, King of Moab, defeated the King of Israel, and laid the spoils which he had taken from him at the feet of his god Kemosh; and he asserted that Clermont-Ganneau had not only made the paper squeeze referred to in the note below, but had invented the inscription. It need hardly be said that Birch, who knew all the facts of the case, placed himself on the side of Clermont-Ganneau, as also did Professor W. Wright.

Among the second class of Birch's visitors were many people who had heard accounts of "finds" and discoveries in Egypt and Assyria, and had understood them imperfectly. Several of these had heard of the "Tale of the Two Brothers" in the D'Orbiney Papyrus, in which the story of Anpu and Bata and his wife closely resembles that of Joseph and Potiphar and his wife, and they came and asked to see the history of Joseph which was written in Egyptian and had been found in his tomb, and was now in the British Museum! One visitor, having heard of a "find" of silver coins in Egypt, thought it must include the "twenty pieces of silver" for which Joseph was sold, and asked Birch if they had yet arrived in the Museum. Another, having heard Mr. Boscawen lecture on the Egibi Tablets, came and asked to see the tablets which Nebuchadnezzar had sealed with his nails, because

proved the soundness of his view. No bilingual inscription has yet been found in which one of the texts is in Hittite and the other in some known language, and therefore the Hittite inscriptions still remain untranslated.

¹ It was found by the Rev. F. Klein at Dhibân, near the Arnon, in 1868. Clermont-Ganneau succeeded in getting a paper squeeze made of the inscription, and soon after, when he tried to acquire the Stone and to carry it away, the Arabs smashed it and destroyed some of the pieces. All that is left of the Stone is in the Louvre, and there is a cast of it in the British Museum.

he wanted to find out whether the nail-marks were those of the king when he was in the form of a man or in that of a beast. The lecturer had said that some of the tablets of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II bore the impressions of the nails of witnesses in lieu of impressions of seals, but one of his audience at least had misunderstood him. Another visitor whom I well remember was a little old lady who wore a grey stuff dress, a striped shawl, and a sort of poke bonnet, and who came from some charitable institution. She came to the Nineveh Gallery, and asked for the "books which Noah buried before he went into the ark," and she was so certain that they were in the Museum that Slaughter brought her into Birch's room. When she was seated comfortably she repeated her request, and told Birch that she was quite certain that the books were in the Museum, because her son, who was in the Royal Navy, and was a "great scholar," had written and told her so. He was a "great hand at reading," and he had written and told her some time ago that when his ship was anchored in the Red Sea he and a mate had gone in a boat to Moses' Wells, and that close by they had seen lying under water parts of the wheels and bodies of the chariots of Pharaoh. Quite recently he had written home to her and told her that a man from the British Museum had been to Nineveh and dug up Noah's books. Birch listened attentively, and then, thinking that it was the "Deluge Tablet" which she referred to as "Noah's books," he took her out into the Nineveh Gallery and showed it to her, and told her a little about its contents. As she listened she nodded her head from time to time and said, "I knew my boy was no liar," and this conviction was far more important to her than the actual contents of the Tablet. As it was closing time we had followed Birch and the old lady to the case, and as we walked out by her side afterwards we saw her fumbling in her pocket for something. When we reached the end of the Gallery Birch shook hands with her, and as he was turning away she tried to give him whatever it was she had found in her pocket, but was too late. She then turned quickly to me and pressed

the gift which she had intended for Birch into my hand, and hurried off with her friend who had been waiting for her. Her gift was three-halfpence, and her goodwill and gratitude were so evident that the only thing left to be done was to accept them, and I did so.

Among the third class of Birch's visitors I include a number of men who made themselves a nuisance to him and to everyone else in his room by their talk on Biblical Chronology. The immediate cause of their visits was Smith's publication of the "Eponym Canon," which had upset their systems of chronology of the last Assyrian Empire, and reduced them to despair. They first disputed the accuracy of his translation, and then of his copy of the text, and when they could prove neither wrong they accused the ancient Assyrian scribes of making mistakes and of not knowing their business. They produced large charts on which every event recorded in the Bible had a date assigned to it; and I heard one ingenious gentleman assert that in the majority of cases, certainly in all the important ones, he could name the year, the month, the day of the month, and even the hour in which a given event had taken place. On being asked by Birch when Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise he consulted his chart gravely, and then replied: "They were turned out of Eden at sunset on Friday, the 20th day of the month Tebhêth, four thousand seven hundred and thirteen years before Christ." When asked how long they had lived in the Garden, he consulted his chart, made a rapid calculation, and said, "Eighty-nine days and seven and a half hours."

As an example of another class of time-wasters, I quote the case of the individual whom Walter Besant has immortalized under the name of "Daniel Fagg" in his novel, "All Sorts and Conditions of Men." This student was a little, shabbily-dressed man, with dark, piercing eyes and a shaggy beard, who haunted the office of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British Museum. Time after time he had been turned out of the former building, but he could not be turned out of the Museum because it is practically a public institution, and when not

engaged in harrying the officials, he sat in the Egyptian Gallery, over one of the hot-air gratings, and meditated upon the wilful ignorance and blindness of the officials and the magnitude of his great discovery. He was a member of the Syro-Egyptian Society, which had been killed by the founding of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, and he had a good working knowledge of Hebrew. He believed that the Jews, Hittites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, and Egyptians all spoke one and the same language, and that anyone who possessed enough knowledge of Hebrew to use a Hebrew dictionary, and was acquainted with the "Common Alphabet" which he had invented, could read the languages of all the peoples mentioned above, and many others, such as Sanskrit, Chinese, and Mexican. He professed to be able to read every inscription in all the Galleries of the Museum. He stopped Mr. (later Sir) C. T. Newton one day, and, pointing to a Greek inscription, told him that it was wrongly labelled, and that it contained a copy of one of St. Paul's love-letters to the lady Thecla and her reply. Mr. Newton was not credited by his colleagues with the ability to "suffer fools gladly," and great was his indignation on this occasion. The inventor of the "Common Alphabet" asserted that the Chinese inscription on the great metal bell preserved in Mr. (later Sir) A. W. Franks' Department contained copies of the Psalms, and that the Chinese characters were merely the older forms of the Hebrew letters. According to him the inscriptions in the Nimrûd Gallery contained the story of David and Jonathan, and an account of the capture of Jericho by the Israelites, and a full description of the falling down of the walls. The text on a large stele in the Central Saloon was a complete history of the life of Jezebel; another stele described the amours of Samson and Delilah; and another inscription in the old Phœnician Room dealt with Balaam and the ass and Balak.

I was present at one long interview between Birch and the inventor of the "Common Alphabet," and when the former remarked that he did not know that the

monuments under his charge contained such wonderful stories, the inventor said: "No, of course you don't, for you are one of the scholars; but you can't deceive me. You know quite well that the two stones which you have put in a corner downstairs are the Two Tables of the Law which God gave to Moses, and you tried to hide them from me because the text of the Commandments is different from that given in your Bible. They are the Tables which Moses held in his hands, and on the top corners are the impressions left by the thumbs of Moses." The man's belief in his "discovery" was genuine enough, and he was firmly convinced that all the learned Societies and all the experts in the British Museum were in league against him. Argument was out of the question, and all that any one could do was to sit still and listen till patience gave out. I saw him once again with Birch, and this time he had brought with him a huge bundle of manuscript, which was the book he had written to explain the "Common Alphabet." (It may be mentioned in passing that the letters were formed by series of triangles arranged in different positions.) Many charitable folk had subscribed for his book, and paid their subscriptions in advance; and those who have any recollection of Birch will not be surprised to hear that although he regarded the "Common Alphabet" as nonsense, he helped its hungry inventor by subscribing for two copies and paying for them on the spot.

During the years in which I worked in Birch's room I had the good fortune to meet and to talk to three of the four¹ men who founded the Science of Assyriology,

¹ The fourth was Edward Hincks, who was born in 1792 and died in 1866. He wrote many papers on the Egyptian hieroglyphs, and Brugsch was of opinion that he was the first to discover a true method of decipherment. Later, he turned his attention to the cuneiform inscriptions of Persia, Wân (Vân) and Media, and simultaneously with Lassen, Burnouf, and Rawlinson discovered the alphabet of the Persian version of the Behistûn Inscription. His work on the phonetic values of Assyrian characters appeared in 1850, and his translation of the Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I seven years later. His Assyrian Grammar remains unfinished.

namely, Rawlinson, Oppert, and Fox Talbot,¹ and the great excavators Layard, Nathan Davis,² Lang³ and Prideaux.⁴ The martial and imposing figure of Rawlinson was frequently seen in Birch's room in the early "seventies," for he devoted every hour he could spare from the India Council to the revision of the sheets of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," which he edited for the Trustees of the British Museum. I found him a little stiff and abrupt, but he was a kind friend to me. His knowledge of Oriental lands, peoples and languages was astounding; it may have been equalled, but never surpassed. Yule and Birdwood, who were themselves great masters of Oriental learning, always accepted his decisions as final. There was no literary jealousy or meanness in him, and he gave his advice and the best of his learning freely to all honest inquirers. He was always interested in the work of the students in Birch's room, and asked what we were doing, and looked

¹ He was the inventor of the "Talbotype" system of photography, and was a mathematician and astronomer. Under Hincks' influence he turned his attention to the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions from Nineveh, and was one of the four experts who translated the Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. He was one of the original Council of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, to the "Transactions" of which he contributed many papers on Assyrian Religion and Grammar. He also wrote on the texts recording eclipses and other celestial phenomena, and on the Mazzaroth (Job xxxviii, 32). He brought an expert knowledge of modern astronomy to bear upon ancient astronomical texts, and recent workers have much benefited from the hints which he threw out. He was dignified in bearing and his manners were courteous, and he was tolerant towards his fellow workers; his quaint, old-world reserve was very attractive. He died in 1897 and his friends missed him greatly.

² He was born in 1812 and died in 1882. From 1856-1858 he carried on excavations at Carthage for the Trustees of the British Museum, and the Phœnician Inscriptions which he discovered were published by the Trustees in 1863.

³ Mr. (later Sir) R. Hamilton Lang excavated many sites in Cyprus, and published a collection of Cypriote Inscriptions; he was a generous friend of the British Museum.

⁴ He excavated many sites in Southern Arabia, and many of the Himyaritic Inscriptions which he discovered there are now in the British Museum.

at our copies frequently. He remembered the contents of all the tablets which he had examined with a view to publication when he worked daily in the Museum,¹ and nothing seemed to escape him. After Oriental languages, Oriental geography seemed to be his favourite study, and his knowledge of Armenia, Syria, and Mesopotamia was so exact that he could follow in his mind the campaigns of the Assyrian kings with unusual facility. Speaking one day about the statement in the *Annals of Sennacherib*, in which the king says that in going over a certain mountain he was obliged at one place to leave his chariot and continue his journey on foot, Rawlinson said that he knew the pass well, and when crossing that same mountain he dismounted and walked. He had read all the works of the great Arab and Syrian geographers and historians, and most of the writings of Syrian Christians on ecclesiastical history, because of the geographical references which they contained. At his death I was, through the kindness of his son, able to acquire his copies of nearly all the Arabic texts of geographers and historians like Yâkût, Abû 'l-Fidâ, Ibn al-Athîr, and Ṭabarî, and Assemâni's "*Bibliotheca Orientalis*," and everywhere in them I find notes which prove how carefully he read the texts.

In these days we are often in danger of forgetting that Rawlinson was the "Father of Assyriology," and that the part he took in deciphering the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia was, if anything, more important than his decipherment and translation of the Persian text of the Behistûn Inscription. In the former case he was the leader and teacher of the little band of decipherers; in the latter, Lassen, Burnouf,

¹ He occupied the room over the Secretary's office, which is now the office of the Accountant, and here on tables all round the room were the tablets which Rassam obtained at Nineveh in 1854. Rawlinson, Norris and Smith worked in this room making ready "copy" for Mr. Bowler, the lithographer. When Smith, on Rawlinson's recommendation, was made Birch's Senior Assistant, a room was set apart for him on the south-west staircase, and he removed there with the tablets.

Norris, and Hincks were at least equal in merit to him. In spite of his greatness Rawlinson was curiously patient with some of the students who worked in Birch's room, and who assumed the attitude of original decipherers, and emphasised the importance of their work at every opportunity. I remember that when Birch presented Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch to him, Rawlinson asked the young Privat-docent what work he was doing. He replied, "I will make a reading book for students." Rawlinson said, "Why not use the historical texts in my 'Cuneiform Inscriptions,' which the Museum has published at such great expense?" Delitzsch answered, "That is impossible, they are so full of mistakes; but I will correct them all." We all expected some sharp reply from Rawlinson, and Birch was about to make an indignant remark, when Rawlinson quietly said, "That may well be. Norris and I were only pioneers, and I am no scholar," and he wished him success in his work. The reading book was finished in due course, and its compiler must have regarded it as the "perfect book," for on its last leaf it bore the words, "Fehler—vacat." On another occasion Dr. Delitzsch afforded us great amusement. One morning, soon after the lamented death of Smith, a gentleman from the Principal Librarian's Office came in to discuss with Birch the choice of a successor, and all present in the room could hear their conversation. In the afternoon, when Dr. Delitzsch returned from his lunch, he walked over to Birch, who was standing by the fire, and told him that in passing through Russell Square he had seen the ghost of George Smith, and that it told him he was to succeed him in the British Museum. Whether Birch did not believe in the wisdom of Smith's ghost or in the story is not clear, but he did not recommend the Trustees to make his assistant a young man who had never edited a single text of his own copying in all his life.

I also saw a great deal of Rawlinson's great friend and rival, Jules Oppert, the great Orientalist, and one of the four founders of Assyriology. He was born at Hamburg in 1825, and studied at Bonn under Lassen,

from whom he learned all the art of cuneiform decipherment. After his return from his famous Mission to Mesopotamia, in which he covered France and himself with glory, he became a French subject, and did splendid work in Paris. He was of small stature, and had an enormous head, which, when I saw him first, was already covered with a mass of long white hair. His mouth was large and firm, his chin large and square, and his deep-set, very bright eyes seemed to pierce everything. For several years after Lassen and Rawlinson published their systems of decipherment, many eminent men—among them being Sir G. Cornewall Lewis—refused to believe that any real progress had been made in cuneiform decipherment, and Assyriologists were called upon publicly to substantiate their claims. The challenge was accepted by Rawlinson, Oppert, Hincks, and Fox Talbot, and they offered to translate independently a long historical inscription, and agreed to submit their translations for examination and analysis to any committee formed of competent judges. The inscription selected for their translating was that of Tiglath-Pileser I, which contains 810 lines of text, and when the translations were made they were handed over to a carefully selected committee of scholars. Among the members of this committee were Hayman Wilson, the Persian and Sanskrit scholar; Cureton, of the British Museum, the eminent Semitic scholar; Gardner Wilkinson, the great Egyptian archaeologist; Whewell, the mathematician and philosopher; Milman, the historian of the Jews; and Grote, the historian of the Greeks. After comparing the four translations submitted to them, they found that each of the four translators had made out the general meaning of the whole inscription, and that so many paragraphs in each translation agreed so closely with those of the other three translations, that it was impossible any longer to doubt that the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions had been achieved with conspicuous success. Oppert illustrated the philological notes which he appended to his translation with copious comparisons drawn from half a dozen Semitic dialects,

and his work was a wonderful proof of the depth of his knowledge of Oriental languages and of his linguistic skill.

In the days when Rawlinson was working in the British Museum at the mass of tablets which Layard sent from Nineveh in 1854, Oppert was allowed to join him when visiting London, and between 1868 and 1870 he made out the general meaning of many fragments of the "Gisghubar (Gilgamesh) Legends." On his return to Paris he obtained a grant from the Académie des Inscriptions to enable him to come to London and publish these tablets, considering them to be of more value than all the bas-reliefs, and colossal lions and bulls from Nineveh, Nimrûd, and Khorsabad put together. When he arrived in London he found that the Trustees of the British Museum had already decided to publish the tablets, and on making application for them to Smith, in whose charge they had been placed, he was informed that they could not be found. He was bitterly disappointed, and expressed his annoyance vividly and picturesquely in many languages. He bore no malice against Rawlinson and Norris, for, said he, "they are scholars," but he took a great dislike to Smith, whom he described as a "mechanic." Once, when discussing Smith's work with Birch, he said, "Smith is a great excavator," and then with scathing emphasis added, "and he writes like one."

As years went on Oppert's eyesight began to fail, and reading and writing, to say nothing of the copying of cuneiform texts, presented serious difficulties to him. When he heard of and saw the work produced by others in the field of Assyriology, which he considered to be the domain of Rawlinson and himself absolutely, he became irritated, and he boldly accused each student of the younger generation of having stolen all his knowledge from him. But a kindly smile usually accompanied the accusation, and took the sting from his words, which, by the way, were often true, and those who used a little tact with him on such occasions made him their friend for life. One day, when I was reading a proof with the original text on a tablet, he said to me, "What

is that?" and I told him. He said, as usual, "Ah, you have stolen that from me," and I replied, "Of course, there is no one else worth stealing from," and expected from him some sharp retort. Instead of this he laughed, and asked me if I possessed copies of his books and papers. When I said, "No, I have few books, because they are so expensive," he answered, "I shall send you all my books, and you shall go on stealing in comfort." And sure enough, a few weeks later, I received by post copies of all his papers and several books, including his translation of the Sargon Inscriptions. He was in the habit of expressing his opinion of other scholars quite freely, even in their presence. On one occasion an English professor told him that he never troubled to read anything which he had written on Assyrian since 1857, and Oppert replied, "I read the works of every Assyriologist, even yours, therefore am I wise. You do not read my books, therefore you are a fool."

I saw much of him at the meetings of the Oriental Congress in Berlin in 1881, and he afforded great amusement to all his friends by the running fire of comments which he kept up in English, French, and German, on paper after paper as it was read. The author of one paper was foolish enough to assume that Oppert was a Frenchman by birth, and that he knew no German, and in the discussion of his paper which followed he was rash enough to make some very rude remarks about him and his scholarship. Whilst this was going on Oppert made repeated attempts to leap to his feet and interrupt the lecturer, but was held firmly down by his friends behind him, who were grasping his coat-tails. Suddenly with a jerk he heaved himself up, and his coat-tails parting from the waist of the coat, remained in our hands, as he rushed amid great laughter—for all had heard the splitting of the cloth—to the platform to speak. When the laughter had subsided he addressed the meeting in German with a vehemence and fluency which were startling, and he completely silenced his opponent; but the sight was one never to be forgotten—the raging little gentleman on a high platform, shaking out his long white

hair as a lion shakes his mane, and thundering out his arguments as fast as he could fit words to them, and standing before the learned assembly with the lower half of his coat torn off at the waist, and the fragments of the lining hanging down. At the Oriental Congress held in Stockholm he thoroughly enjoyed himself, for everyone, from the King downwards, delighted to honour him. Dr. Wright told me that when Oppert left one of the meetings which the King had honoured by his presence, he stepped into the royal carriage which was waiting for His Majesty, and, in spite of all protests by the officials, drove off in it to his hotel, bowing right and left to the people he passed on the way. He was a brilliant teller of Oriental tales in French and English, and he loved Persian, Turkish, and Arabic poetry, and at Sir Charles Newton's dinner parties I have heard him recite in the originals extracts from the Mu'allakât, and from the poems of Sa'dî and Hâfiz, for an hour at a time.

I saw the great Assyrian explorer, Layard, in Birch's room twice, and in a conversation which I had with him he complained that students were devoting too much energy to the study of the ancient Assyrian texts, and not enough to the continuance of excavations on the site which he had opened. He attributed the difficulty which the Trustees of the British Museum had in obtaining a *faramân* (i.e., permit) to continue the excavations to the fact that he had not been elected a Trustee, and did not seem to realize that it was due to the natural wish of the Sultân to preserve in his country the antiquities which still remained there. He urged me to seize the first opportunity of going to Assyria, and promised me help and introductions to his friends in Môsul and Baghdâd; but it is sad to relate that through my Missions to Mesopotamia in 1888, 1889, and 1891, I incurred his bitterest enmity. Whilst travelling with Mr. Mitford in the East in 1842, Layard visited Botta, the French Consul at Môsul, who was excavating the ruins of Nineveh on behalf of the French Government. When Botta abandoned the mound of Kuyûnjiç, where his results had been few, and went to Khorsabad, Layard

obtained permission from him to carry on the work, and Stratford Canning provided the money for the undertaking. He began work at Kuyûnjik in 1845, but in 1846, acting on instructions from Stratford Canning, he left Kuyûnjik, and began to excavate the remains of the buildings of Ashur-naşir-pal (B.C. 885-860) at Nimrûd, the site of the ancient city of Calah (see Genesis x, 11, 12), about 20 miles down-stream of Nineveh. [Stratford Canning was led to give him these instructions as the result of reading a report on Nimrûd and the ruins of the buildings there, which were then above ground, made at his request by Mr. Badger a few years before Layard began to excavate there.] Layard obtained splendid results at Nimrûd, which he believed to be Nineveh, and it is much to be regretted that he did not excavate the whole site completely. In 1849 he renewed excavations at Kuyûnjik and the mound of Nabi Yûnis (where, according to tradition, Jonah preached repentance to the Ninevites), and obtained good results. On his departure from Assyria in 1851, Rawlinson,¹ who was then Consul-General of Baghdâd, undertook to direct further excavation work in Assyria, and Layard abandoned Assyrian archæology in favour of a political career. Layard was at one time hailed as the "discoverer of Nineveh," but the site of Nineveh, as will be shown later on, was always well known. He was a man of tremendous energy, but he was neither a scholar nor an Assyriologist, and most of the information of a linguistic,

¹ Felix Jones gives an interesting description of Rawlinson's zeal and energy about this time:—

"Colonel Rawlinson was daily thus employed in a most inclement season. Book in hand, sometimes seated in a swamp, sometimes protected only by an umbrella from the torrents coming down from above, he persevered and succeeded in obtaining copies of all the legible tablets uncovered within the mounds both of Nineveh and Nimrûd. It was ludicrous and interesting indeed to witness the shifts he was occasionally put to to obtain a glimpse of light upon a defaced and uncertain character of the inscriptions. His activity of mind and body in the pursuit of his favourite study in every situation is certainly deserving of the success which the public and his numerous friends most cordially wish him."—*Jnl. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xv, p. 326.

historical or learned character found in his books was supplied to him by Birch, Vaux, and Ellis, of the British Museum, and by Rawlinson. The importance of the greatest treasure which he found at Kuyûnjik, *i.e.*, the inscribed baked clay tablets of the Library of Nineveh, was not recognized until it reached England. Birch told me that Layard thought the writing on the tablets was a species of ornament, and hardly deemed them worth the carriage to England. They were shovelled without any packing into old digging baskets, which were tied up and put on rafts, and in this way they arrived with the larger objects at Baṣrah, where they were shipped to England. They suffered more from their voyage from Mōsul to London than from the fury of the Medes when they sacked and burned Nineveh. Layard was a splendid horseman, and I found that he was remembered by the natives for his long rides more than for his excavations. I often heard him mentioned by the greybeards on the Khabûr and at Sinjâr in 1891, and Jeremiah Shamîr, of Mōsul, told me many stories of his physical endurance. The Shêkh of Baibûk remembered him, and compared him to Anṭar, a very famous Arab warrior and horseman. They told me also that he treated his horses as if they were his "maternal brother's children"—*i.e.*, his cousins—that he fed them far more carefully than he fed himself, and that he understood the "tongue of horses," and could converse with them.

As the official custodian of the antiquities from Mesopotamia, Egypt, Phœnicia, Southern Arabia, etc., Birch was for nearly five and forty years the adviser and helper of many excavators, and of all the scholars who were engaged in completing the decipherment of the cuneiform and Egyptian inscriptions. He and Lepsius worked through all the material which the *savants* who accompanied Napoleon had collected, and they were the first Egyptologists to publish literary texts. Lepsius issued a facsimile of the Book of the Dead, as contained in the Turin Papyrus, in 1842, and in 1843 and 1844 Birch published the "Belmore Collection," and "Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Papyri," and the first part of "Select Papyri

in the Hieratic Character." At this early period he assisted Sharpe¹ in the preparation of his "Egyptian Inscriptions" (Part II), and supplied him with much material for his other works. Every writer on Egypt turned to Birch for help, and much of his best work went forth into the world under the names of others. Of what value would Bunsen's "Egypt's Place" have been without Birch's contributions? And though he never professed to have any deep knowledge of Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform, he was consulted by every

¹ Samuel Sharpe (died 1881) was a scholar of great merit, and was well known for his works on Egypt and for his English version of the Bible, which passed through many editions. In the early "thirties" he realized that material must be provided for would-be Egyptologists, and in 1835 he published some copies of hieroglyphic texts in the British Museum; in 1837 he published his "Vocabulary of Hieroglyphics." He then compiled a History of Egypt, and wrote works on Bible Chronology and Egyptian Christianity. His theological opinions interfered with his progress in Egyptology, for he never forgot that the Pharaohs were the oppressors of the Israelites, and believed that they and their people were pagans; moreover, he thought little of Egyptian Literature. He worked at hieroglyphs because they interested him, and because he regarded the inscriptions as so many puzzles, but he never took the trouble to understand the later development of Egyptology. Had he done so he would have been the first to admit that most of his earlier opinions on the subject were untenable, for he was a fair-minded man. He talked well in a low, quiet voice, and his remarks in discussions at meetings were very much to the point; his criticisms had a "bite" in them which many of his opponents found disconcerting. He warned me earnestly on one occasion against allowing the influence of the works of the "godless French and Germans" to undermine my religious beliefs, saying that if I did, I should end by "hugging the knees of Baal, and eating the cakes of Ashtoreth, and worshipping in the house of Rimmon." He purchased and gave to the British Museum the remarkable flint agglomerate statue of Khā-em-Uast, the eldest son of Rameses II, because he believed that prince to have been one of the magicians who withstood Moses. Birch had no money to buy the statue when it came up for sale, and Sharpe being determined, as he said, that "so remarkable a proof of the authenticity of the Book of Exodus, and of the truth of Holy Scripture" should not leave the country, bought it and gave it to the nation. In 1907 two of his daughters presented to the Museum some fine bronze figures of Egyptian gods which their father had purchased at the sale of the Third Salt Collection.

decipherer, and in one form or another they had to acknowledge the value of the advice which his wide knowledge enabled him to give them. He corrected the manuscript and proof-sheets of Layard's "Cuneiform Inscriptions," and Hincks adopted his suggestions in his list of cuneiform signs. He was President of the Society of Biblical Archæology from the time of its foundation till his death, and there are few papers in its "Transactions" which do not contain information supplied by him and marks of his learning. In some cases while editing its publications he was really the author of the papers. This was the case in Smith's papers on the decipherment of the Cypriote inscriptions. It was Birch who made the discovery, which obviously was beyond Smith's reach, as he knew no Greek. Birch's suggestions were invariably put forward with such diffidence and modesty that even the most irascible and opinionated of authors accepted them, if not always gratefully, at least with the conviction that there was "something in them."

Some of the pleasantest hours I ever spent in Birch's room were those when London was wrapped in a dense fog, and when, for want of light, copying became impossible. As there was always a chance of the fog lifting we sat and waited, and passed the time in talk. In some departments business was carried on by the light of locked moderator lamps, but as the Museum only possessed a limited supply of these, it frequently happened that Birch failed to get one. On such occasions he would stand with his back to the fire, and discuss any subject which anyone in the room wanted to talk about. Certain phases of politics interested him greatly, and when arguing with opponents the usually quiet, self-contained man became changed into a fierce debater. His favourite subject for abuse was Mr. Forster's Education Act, and those who understood it said that Birch had noted all the defects in it. He prophesied that the misfortunes which had fallen upon the Chinese, whom he regarded as the most educated nation in the world so far as book-learning is concerned, would fall upon England through this Act. He talked well on the

campaigns of Napoleon, to the study of which he seems to have devoted considerable attention, and also on our wars with China. About the latter he had much to say which was amusing, and the extracts which he quoted from Chinese papers that discussed the operations in 1860 and 1861 formed really funny reading. He had the greatest contempt for the system of government of India as carried on by the authorities in London, and he fought many a wordy battle with Rawlinson on the subject. According to Birch, the home authorities were ignorant of the history of India, had no true sympathy with its peoples, lacked understanding of their religions and mental characteristics, and treated their traditions and prejudices with bad behaviour and tactlessness. On the other hand, he greatly admired the tact, patience, devotion and loyalty of the Civil Service of India. Next to politics religion was his favourite subject of discussion, and he listened eagerly to the views of the ministers of all religions and sects, both Orientals and Occidentals, who consulted him about the trend of the discoveries which archæologists were making so rapidly. I have heard him tell some of these inquirers that none of the discoveries either in Archæology or Science ever disturbed his personal religious beliefs, which he said he had formulated for himself when a young man. I never heard him say, and I have never met anyone who knew, what his beliefs really were. Whatever they were he was careful to keep them concealed. When tactless people pressed him hard to make some statement he invariably said, "I believe all Science and all Religion." Personally, I should have classed him among the "godless good." He had great contempt for those who came to him always seeking for "proofs" of the truth of the Bible from the cuneiform inscriptions, and always said that they could not know the difference between belief and history.

He thought that each race in the world possessed beliefs peculiar to itself, and that, owing to differences in physical constitution and in mental characteristics and linguistic difficulties, no one race could ever be brought

to understand thoroughly and completely the beliefs of the other. When speaking on this point he would quote passages from the Chinese and other Oriental versions of the Bible, and would show that whilst the translators produced texts which the Orientals could understand, their renderings failed to bear the exact meanings which Christians in Europe gave them. Discussing the Trinity one day, he said that the ancient Egyptian conception of a Trinity was quite logical and understandable from a native point of view, though not from that of Syrian and Greek and Roman Christians, and that the fundamental conception of the origin of the members of the Egyptian Trinity was entirely different from the conception of the origin of the Persons of the Trinity as formulated by the early Christian Fathers. If, he said, the Christian theologians of the first four centuries of our Era had realized how impossible it was for Africans and Asiatics to understand the meanings which they gave to *φύσις* and *πρόσωπον*, *natura* and *persona*, they would never have used them, and a great many of the controversies of the Church would never have taken place; and he went on to say that professional teachers of religion in England ought to study more deeply the languages, history and archæology of Western Asia and Egypt.

Though he disliked intensely the teachings and ceremonial of High Church services, he had great regard for the Ritual of the Roman Church, and for her learned conservatism and authority; and he admired and respected the learning and scholarship which produced such works as the "*Acta Sanctorum*" of the Bollandists, and the "*Bibliotheca Orientalis*" of Assemâni. He had little belief in the value of the destructive criticism of Dutch and German theologians, and still less in that of their followers in England, nearly all of whom lacked the training and scholarship of those whose ideas they reproduced in their books. Many of our difficulties in the matter of Bible history are due to the fact that the sources from which the Hebrew writers drew their information vary greatly in value and historical accuracy. When they had trustworthy information on which to

base their statements they agree with those of the monuments ; and many of our difficulties are entirely due to our lack of documents and to insufficient evidence. In connection with this subject he often referred to the passage in Isaiah (xx, 1), in which the prophet says that the Tartan of Sargon, King of Assyria, "came unto Ashdod, and fought against Ashdod, and took it." The distinguished commentator, Professor T. K. Cheyne, had assured him that this was impossible, and that Isaiah had made a mistake ; but very soon afterwards Smith rejoined the fragments of a cylinder of Sargon which were in the Museum, and they contained the account of the capture of the city by Sargon, and the deposition of its king, Azuri. This event probably took place about B.C. 711. Very much more might be written about Birch's merits, and the services which he rendered to all honest seekers after knowledge. He possessed the art of making friends, and he was kind and genial to all comers, especially to young beginners, in whose hands lay the future of his beloved studies, and his sympathy, encouragement and example made productive workers of many who came to him. No earnest worker ever appealed to him for help in vain, but the trifler and pretender found in him a stern foe, and instances are known which prove that he could be a "good hater" as well as a good friend.

Returning to the subject of myself after this somewhat long, but, in my opinion, necessary digression, I find that in the winter of 1877-78 I became acquainted with the distinguished Orientalist, Rev. Dr. William Mead Jones.¹ He was the Minister or Pastor of the Seventh Day Baptists,² or Seventh Day Independents, who held their

¹ Born May 2nd, 1818, died February 22nd, 1895. He lived at Mill Yard from September 14th, 1872, when he became Pastor, until his death. For obituary notices see *The Times*, February 25th, 1895 ; *Freeman*, March 1st, 1895 ; *Baptist*, March 1st, 1895.

² They were originally known as "Traskites," an early name which was given to the Sabbatarians who were commonly grouped under the denomination of "Anabaptists." The name of "Seventh Day Men" was not given to the Traskites until the end of the seventeenth century

weekly services in the famous Baptist Chapel in Mill Yard,¹ Goodman's Fields,² Whitechapel. He had been a missionary in Jerusalem, where he continued his study of Arabic, both literary and spoken, and with the help of the Samaritans of Nablûs he had become a fine Samaritan scholar. He adopted the tenets of the Seventh Day Baptists or Independents, and so left Palestine and came to London, where he married Miss Black,³ and became the Pastor of the Mill Yard Chapel. I visited him frequently in his house in Mill Yard, which was attached to the Chapel,⁴ and he devoted much time

(Chamberlain, "Present State of England for 1702," p. 258). John Trask was a schoolmaster in Somerset, and became a preacher in London in 1617. He inculcated three-day fasts, continuous prayer and "quaking," and a very rigid observance of Sunday. A man called Jackson persuaded him that the Sabbath had never been abrogated, and that the Traskites ought to observe it instead of Sunday; Trask adopted these views. In 1634 he was brought before the Star Chamber and his arguments were refuted by Bishop Andrewes. Trask was put in the pillory, and is said to have recanted. His wife was in prison for fifteen or sixteen years. See Blunt, *Dict. of Sects* (London, 1874, p. 599).

¹ Maitland in 1739 says that the "Anabaptist meeting house was in Mill Yard, Rag Fair. The first Chapel was burned down in 1666 and rebuilt; the second Chapel was burnt down on February 24th, 1790, and the foundation stone of the third Chapel was laid on September 1st of the same year. On October 19th, 1733, a magistrate visited the Chapel whilst the Pastor, John James, a weaver, was conducting a service, and had him dragged from the pulpit, and accused him of treason; the wretched man was hanged on the following November 26th." See Ivimey, *History of the English Baptists* (London, 1830, vol. iv, p. 232); and Pike, *Ancient Meeting Houses* (London, 1870, p. 193).

² Goodman flourished in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and on his farm, or "Fields," now stands a part of the Minories. Stowe, the antiquary, used to drink a halfpennyworth of milk (about 3 pints!) whenever he passed the farm. Pike, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

³ Probably a descendant of the W. H. Black, who succeeded William Slater as Pastor of the Chapel in 1719.

⁴ This Chapel was a good-sized room, about 45 feet long and 22 feet wide, with seating accommodation for about 300 people. A gallery on pillars ran round three sides of it, and the pews were painted a dull grey colour. At one end were two windows with arches over them, and between them was a platform with rails; on the platform was a reading desk for the use of the Pastor, and by the side of it

to teaching me the rudiments of Arabic, and in return I wrote some short articles for the "Sabbath Memorial," the organ of the Seventh Day Independents, which he edited. I also helped him to compile the chart of the names of the days of the week in many languages, a work on which he spent many years. He possessed much information about the Samaritans, and I read with him the first two of the Five Books of Moses in a lithographed reproduction of a Samaritan manuscript which he was preparing for publication.¹

In the spring of 1878 the results of my work at Assyrian began to take published form, and my translation of an inscription of Sennacherib from Nabi Yûnis was printed in the eleventh volume of the "Records of the Past" (Old Series), and my paper on Assyrian Incantations to

were high cushioned seats for the Elders. The Ten Commandments were painted in black on the wall above the platform, with the exception of the Fourth, which was in red. Between the platform and the pews was the large rectangular tank, with a stairway down into it at one end, in which total immersions took place. The pews were narrow, high-backed, and very uncomfortable. Up in one corner near the platform was the entrance to the vestry. Besides the Chapel and the Pastor's house there stood on the plot of ground (which was the property of the Mill Yard Settlement from the days of Charles I) two almshouses, a bakery, a brewery, and a wash-house; and a part of the plot formed the cemetery of the little community. The whole was surrounded with a high brick wall. The site was acquired compulsorily by a local railway company for an extension of its sidings, and all the buildings upon it were pulled down. Lieut.-Colonel T. W. Richardson, of the Seventh Day Baptist Church, Mornington Hall, Canonbury Lane, N., kindly informs me that the Chapel register shows that a baptism took place in Mill Yard Chapel on June 6th, 1885. I remember seeing the sheets of copper being stripped from the Chapel roof in the summer of that year. The endowment of this famous Chapel in the eighteenth century was said to be considerable, but in Dr. Jones' time it was only worth about £100 per annum. At one time the Chapel had two Pastors, and when one of them died, the congregation split itself into two parties, and went to law about the division of the endowment. The case was heard by Lord Chancellor Eldon, and no doubt much of the endowment disappeared in law expenses.

¹ He also wrote *The Agony of Sunday* (London, 1876, 8vo); *Letter on the Desecration of the Seventh Day* (London, 1876, 8vo); *The Sign of the Messiah* (London, 1879, 8vo).

Fire and Water in the sixth volume of the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology." At this time my friends could not agree about the work which I was best qualified to do in life, and some wanted me to settle down to copying cuneiform texts for publication, and others wanted me to go to the East and help Mr. Rassam, who was then about to start for Assyria to continue excavations at Nineveh and other places. In May Mr. Gladstone wrote to Mr. Seager, and said that he had decided that I should go up to Cambridge in the following October, and asked him to do all he could meanwhile to help me to pursue the study of Semitic Languages as he wished. This Mr. Seager did with characteristic thoroughness, and I read with him until the Saturday before he left London to assist at the Oriental Congress in Florence. There he died at the Hôtel de la Ville, September 18th. Alas !

In October I went up to Cambridge, and entered as a Non-Collegiate Student, and began to read for the Semitic Languages Tripos, which had recently been established. In the Lent Term of the following year Dr. Peile, Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, proposed that I should migrate thither, saying that the Master and Fellows were prepared to give me an Exhibition for Assyrian if I did sufficiently well in the College Examinations in May. I accepted the proposal gratefully, and was admitted a pensioner at Christ's under Messrs. Peile and Cartmell, April 23rd, 1879. In May I was examined in Hebrew and Assyrian, the examination papers in the latter language being set by Professor A. H. Sayce, and on June 11th I was elected Otway Exhibitioner. The following year the College prize for Hebrew fell to me, and in June, 1881, I was elected a Scholar of the College. Early in 1882 I took my degree in the Semitic Languages Tripos, for which I was the only candidate, and in May I was awarded a Tyrwhitt University Scholarship for Hebrew. The College most generously offered to continue my Scholarship for another year, and thus I was enabled to stay up at Cambridge and read Arabic, Ethiopic and Talmudic Literature.

The four and a half years which I spent at Cambridge were filled with hard work, and during the first two years I often wondered if I should ever obtain my degree, for my ignorance of mathematics was absolute. To those who had worked at mathematics at school the examination in the Additional Subjects (Trigonometry, Algebra and Statics), which every candidate for a Tripos was, at that time, obliged to pass, was a comparatively easy matter; but this was by no means the case with me, for during the past ten years (1868-78) I had given all my time and attention to the study of the Semitic Languages. The "coach" to whose charge I was specially committed found me inexpressibly stupid, College lectures on mathematics were wasted on me, and my progress in mathematics was very slow, and I was "plucked" in arithmetic. After this disaster my friend and fellow student, Mr. Edward Haigh (15th Wrangler in 1880) took me in hand, and understood my difficulties, and he "coached" me to such good purpose that I was able to satisfy the examiners, and so became free to devote my whole time to Tripos work.

Though Professor W. Wright held firmly to his view that any young man who studied Semitic Languages with the idea of getting his living by them in England was a fool, I soon found out that one of the dearest aims of his life was the publication of Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic texts, with English translations. It was with much fear and trembling that I called upon him in his rooms in the second court of Queens' and announced my arrival, but the firm grasp of his hand and kindly smile reassured me, and I learned at once that, as Dr. Peile often said, "Wright's bark was much worse than his bite." He carefully explained to me that there was still time for me to abandon Semitic Languages, because, as he said, the man who took them up to gain a living by them was a fool, but, of course, if I persisted in my foolish idea, he was there to help me, and he would do so. Remarking somewhat sadly, "He that will to Cupar maun to Cupar," he at once sketched out a plan of work, and terrified me with the list of books which he expected me

to read. Certain set books in Syriac and Arabic he would read with me himself; Syriac works which were translations from the Greek were to be read with Mr. R. L. Bensly, who would help me in translating English into Syriac; and the Hebrew and Chaldee books were to be read with the Rev. W. H. Lowe, who would direct me in Hebrew composition.

Wright's Catalogues of the Syriac and Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum, and his editions of Arabic and Syriac texts, are monuments alike of his marvellous power of work and his almost incredible accuracy. He was unquestionably the greatest authority on Semitic and Oriental studies that our country has produced. He expected his pupils to follow his example, and for those who did he could never do enough. He spared neither time nor pains in teaching me to work at Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, and he never ceased to tell me that the best work I could do was to edit texts, and to publish them with translations. It was useless, he said, to attempt to write histories of Semitic peoples and their civilization as long as their literatures remained in manuscript, and therefore inaccessible to the majority of students. Every Oriental text ought to be published in full, and no text should be given to the world without a translation of it in some European tongue. A bad translation was better than none at all, because it would at least afford material for someone to make a better one. I worked very hard under his direction, and tried to deserve his generous help, but about one subject we quarrelled frequently, and that was Assyriology.

Some years before I became his pupil he had studied the writings of Oppert and Schrader, and other Assyriologists, in order to learn something of Assyrian grammar for purposes of Comparative Semitic Philology. He made no attempt to learn the cuneiform characters, even the simpler Ninevite script, because he considered the task hopeless, and he regarded the Babylonian character used in the Nebuchadnezzar texts as "complicated fiendishnesses," and "sheer inventions of the devil." How far his studies in cuneiform went I cannot say, but

they took him far enough to convince him that all the younger group of students and teachers of Assyrian knew neither Hebrew nor any other Semitic Language. More than that, he found that some of them made statements about Semitic grammar in general which he was able to prove were untrue. Therefore he regarded Assyriologists as "impostors," and the wrath which he should have distributed over half a dozen people (many of whom he disliked personally!) he concentrated upon me; and he was always urging me to drop my "nasty Assyrian," which none of you know anything about, and devote myself to the study of languages which are known and understood, and of which "decent" grammars and dictionaries exist. In March, 1879, I read a paper on a "Recently Discovered Text of Ashur-natsir-pal, B.C. 885," before the Society of Biblical Archæology, and when Wright saw the account of it in the papers he was very angry; but he was mollified when the College soon after elected me Otway Exhibitioner for Assyrian and Hebrew, and the storm blew over. When I was "plucked" in arithmetic, Wright was perfectly certain that my failure was due to my having spent all my time on my "nasty Assyrian," and he thought worse of Assyriologists than ever, and openly expressed his derision and contempt for them all over Cambridge. To me personally, however, he went out of his way to be kinder than ever, and one day, I imagine to console me, he told me that, in his opinion, "Arithmetic and Paley's 'Evidences'" were "just nasty trash."

In October, 1880, the great peace which had existed for four terms between Wright and myself was broken. The cause of the trouble was the publication of a little volume of "Assyrian Texts," which Messrs. Bagster had asked me to prepare in 1877 for the series of elementary handbooks called the "Archaic Classics," of which mention has already been made. The book was ready for the printer in 1878, but Messrs. Bagster decided to abandon the publication of such costly books, and Mr. Trübner undertook to bring the book out. The expense of setting the type caused delay, and during the

Christmas vacation of 1879 I went to the printer's office and set up the matter for several pages, and about the middle of 1880 the book was published. During the summer it was reviewed in several papers, and the writers of the reviews treated me considerately. The *Athenæum* (No. 2752) said that "a reading-book of this sort was very much needed by both pupils and teachers," and spoke well of the editing and the notes; and the *Academy* (No. 427), the *Guardian* (August 18th, 1880), and *Notes and Queries* (October 23rd, 1880), welcomed it, each for different reasons. The last-named paper mentioned that another publication by me was announced, and was kind enough to say that "after the present instance of the editor's knowledge" it looked forward to its appearance. These notices, though gratifying to me, were very displeasing to Wright, and when we began reading again in October he was exceedingly angry once more. It was quite useless to try and show him that the greater part of the work had been done before I came up to Cambridge, and he was greatly irritated by the remark in *Notes and Queries* as to the other publication by me which was announced. A month or so later, before he had recovered his equanimity, my "History of Esarhaddon" appeared, and its publication did not make for peace. Wright told me that undergraduates ought not to publish books on Assyrian inscriptions or anything else, and that those who did so always "wrote rubbish and wasted their time." The reviewers treated the book, on the whole, kindly, and *The Times* gave it its blessing (January 29th, 1881); but before Wright would continue his reading with me he made me promise to drop Assyrian until after the Tripas. I read with him the whole time I was up at Cambridge, and for several years after I came down I enjoyed the inestimable benefit of his direction and help in editing and translating Syriac texts. Before I went to Mesopotamia in 1888, he gave me instructions to seek for and to obtain, if possible, at Mârdîn, Môşul and Baghdâd, Syriac and Arabic manuscripts which were wanting in the National Collection, and promised to pay for them out of his own

pocket if official funds were not forthcoming. I was fortunate enough to be able to report to him, just before he died in 1889, that I had secured most of them. My debt to him for eleven years of judicious friendship and constant and priceless help is very great.

As soon as I was free from the bonds of mathematics Wright arranged for me to attend the Rabbinic and Talmudic lectures of the Rabbi Schiller-Szinessy, which he delivered at a time most inconvenient for undergraduates, namely, three o'clock in the afternoon. The career of this extraordinarily learned Rabbi was remarkable. He was born in 1820, graduated at Jena, was ordained a Rabbi and made a professor at Eperges, in Hungary. He became a revolutionary in 1848, and was wounded and made prisoner, but managed to escape and find his way to Ireland. He became Minister of the Four Congregations in Manchester, but resigned his post in 1866, and came to Cambridge, where he was appointed Teacher in Talmudic and Rabbinical Literature. The title of "Teacher" was subsequently changed to "Reader." He was the first Jew in either University to be placed on the Electoral Roll (Peile, *Biog. Reg. Christ's Coll.*, ii, p. 659). He gave a great impetus to Rabbinic studies in Cambridge, and was the source of inspiration in the Palestinian Mishnah of the Rev. W. H. Lowe and the *Pirkê Âbhôth* of Dr. Taylor, the Master of John's. His lectures were attended chiefly by "dons," and I have frequently seen among his audience Aldis Wright, C. H. W. King, R. L. Bensly, W. H. Lowe, and Streane, of Corpus. The lectures were a little diffuse, but most interesting, and under the Rabbi's skilful handling the difficult passages in the wordy battles between the irascible Shammai and the gentle Hillel became perfectly clear. He kept up a running fire of commentary on the text, filled with quotations from ancient Rabbis, whose works he seemed to have learned by heart. He had a wonderful power of describing the East and its conditions of life to their smallest detail, and as he spoke of the colleges of Jerusalem and Baghdâd, and their bazârs and the gardens of the latter city and

its crowded, narrow streets, they seemed to materialize before the eye. He was saturated with Rabbinic lore, and was always applying the Aphorisms of the Fathers to the conditions of modern life in the West with singular skill and dexterity. He was a good authority on the manners and customs of the modern Jews in many parts of Europe.

R. L. Bensly, with whom I read Syriac for three years, was a very distinguished Orientalist, who devoted many years of his life to work on the Syriac Old Testament, and on the Philoxenian version of the New Testament, as revised by Thomas of Harkel (Heraclea), Bishop of Mabbôgh. He discovered in the Town Library at Amiens the missing portion of the Latin translation of the Fourth Book of Ezra, and identified the Palestinian version of the Gospels which was found by Mrs. A. S. Lewis in the Monastery on Mount Sinai, and he published both texts at Cambridge in 1875 and 1894 respectively. During the years I read with him, I turned, with his help, the greater part of the "Pilgrim's Progress" into Syriac, as an exercise in composition. He was a tall, shy, modest man, with a large handsome head, and fine eyes and features. When he began to lecture he became so absorbed in his subject, and so anxious to "do a little more" or to "finish the chapter," that time ceased to be for him, and the luncheon hour rarely entered into his calculations. He frequently lectured from a little after twelve o'clock until nearly three, and finding that there was no time for either of us to get lunch we went on from his room in Caius College to the Divinity Schools, where the Rabbi Schiller-Szinessy began his Rabbinic and Talmudic lectures five days a week at three. Bensly's death in 1893 was a severe blow to Semitic studies in Cambridge, for no other English scholar possessed such exhaustive knowledge of the Syriac Recensions of the Old and New Testaments.

The Rev. W. H. Lowe (born 1849, died 1917), Hebrew Lecturer of Christ's College, was a great Hebrew scholar and Talmudist, and he published a learned edition of the "Palestinian Mishnah" (Cambridge, 1883), which is a

monument of Rabbinic lore and research. His knowledge of Biblical Hebrew was very great, and he could repeat by heart in Hebrew all the poetical Books of the Bible, and the last forty chapters of Isaiah. He was an eloquent and impressive preacher. He worked at his favourite subjects unceasingly, and it was a common thing for him to read all night, especially when he was bringing out a book. He was a good but exacting teacher, and expected his pupils to work hard. He and the half-hearted student soon parted company. His great delight was to find a man who wanted to read Rabbinic works like the Book of Zôhar, or the Môreh Nêbhûchîm of Maimonides, which were not "set" by the examiners in the Semitic Tripos, and was willing to read them with him hour after hour whilst he smoked innumerable pipes. On such occasions, like Bensly, he lost all count of time. I attended his lectures and "coached" with him for three years, and owe him much. He was a tall, fine, handsome, broad-shouldered man, with a splendid physique, and many stories were current in my days of his great muscular strength when an undergraduate. He rowed against Oxford in 1868,¹ 1870 and 1871, and though he broke all the regulations as to diet when training, he could not be done without. He was essentially a kind-hearted man, and the geniality of his disposition showed itself in every line of his face. He had a great faculty for seeing a comic or ludicrous side to most things, and when his sense of humour was roused his eyes laughed before his lips moved. He was extremely unconventional, and the disciplinarians of Cambridge often disapproved of his actions.

During the whole period of my residence at Cambridge the general course of my work was directed by John Peile, Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College from 1871-84, and Master from 1887 till his death on October 9th, 1910.

¹ On going up to Cambridge he was given his rowing Blue as a freshman without having taken part in the trial eights. He rowed No. 4 against Oxford in 1868, No. 5 in 1870, and again in 1871; in 1870 and 1871 Cambridge won. In 1891 he became rector of Brisley, Elmham, Norfolk, where he died.

I attended his lectures on the *Ion* of Euripides, and they were perfect. Not only did he construe the text and translate it into modern speech, but his explanations and illustrations were so clear and full that it required very little imagination on my part to believe that I had actually seen the play acted. I found Peile to be a man of immense sympathy, and one who was ready to make the best of everything and believe the best of everybody, and to help every lame dog, no matter how lame, that crossed his path. He was shrewd in a kindly way, and had great tact and patience. Many generations of undergraduates found in him their best friend; the help which he gave was always adequate, and his praise was judicious and was also free from the exaggeration with which friends so often harm those they mean to benefit. He followed the careers of those who had been under him with keen interest, and in spite of his heavy college duties he found time to correspond with many of them,¹ and to

¹ I cannot refrain from quoting *in extenso* two letters of his to me:—

L.—March 24th, 1903:

"Dear Budge,—I thank you equally, I think, for your cornelian (which is very beautiful, and not at all superstitious) and for your letters. Affection like yours is a real comfort as one grows old, especially if it be a sort of 'geometric progression,' as I believe that I am growing. I had been thinking about you a good deal, and feeling that it was much longer than it ought to have been since we met.

"My work has never brought me of late to the B.M., but always to the Record Office. I often thought last term of asking you to come over and dine, but when a man won't sleep like a Christian in the house where he dines, it seems brutal to ask him to travel 114 (?) miles for so very small a time. Do think it over—sleep at the Lodge—you can be at King's Cross by 9.50 next morning. I shall be in Cambridge again on Monday next at latest, and we shall be very glad to see you any day. I am very glad that you like the photogravure copy of the portrait. The portrait is good—excellently painted. Most people think it too severe; my own judgment is the same as yours, only *you* wouldn't say that it is benevolent to the verge of senility, as *I* should. And now I have the unpleasant task of telling you that it is not a present from me. You wrote so kindly about it that I feel a miscreant. But you have to thank only yourself and the other subscribers. There was so much more subscribed than was needed, that the balance has paid for a replica for my wife, for those photogravures for everybody, and for about £120 made over

retain their affection and gratitude. He knew how to "show himself friendly," and therefore he had many friends. He spent many years in collecting the histories of Christ's College men, which appeared in two portly quarto

to the College in trust, to be employed in part payment of the cost of bringing out my Biographical History. Now the murder is out. I have been over to Chichester yesterday and to-day, working 11 hours at the Diocesan Registry for that same B.H., and I brought home a very little bag. My wife, daughter, and I have been here ten days. We leave on Friday. My wife is better on the whole, but still quite the invalid—knocked over by infinitely small and quite uncertain causes. Still she is better. I am very sorry indeed to hear that Mrs. Budge is *not*. No more till we meet—let it be soon. Ever yours, John Peile."

II.—May 4th, 1905 :

"My dear Budge,—I do not know how long you have been back in England, but I hope that your time in Egypt (?) has done you good. I understand that you had to go there for your health, but I suspected that you might have some illicit object as well. Perhaps I did you wrong, but I hope not ; for I would rather that you went voluntarily than because you were ill.

"I am really sorry to hear so bad a report of Mrs. Budge. She is indeed robbed of much of the good of life ; some folks always are, but it is hard. How does she find your official home suit her ? I have some idea that the houses are not too 'comfortable.' Big they probably are, and dignified. For you it is something to be near your work. But I shall be very sorry if your housekeeping (in the strict sense) prevents you from dining on July 4th. We shall not see another centenary of the College. And we want to gather our men of note ; the number has been much depleted of late years. Is there any time within moderate date when you *will* know ? I mean for certain. We were obliged to fix a seemingly needlessly early day for reply, because we want to ask so many more than the 300 (odd) whom we can accommodate, that we begin now to invite a second list, and we want to give them properly long notice. But I should like to have you. My wife is somewhat better ; but she has weak health now, and is often very low in spirits. I am not too "grand" either (as we say in the north). I was 67 a week ago, and sometimes I feel more. When I was 60 I felt but 40. Ever yours, John Peile.

"P.S.—If you really can't come to dine, you mustn't come on July 3rd or 4th in the hope of seeing anything, worth coming for, of us two. We shall be swallowed up by the host. You must come some other time when we are alone."

[To my great regret "house duty" *did* claim me on July 4th—5th, and I could not go to Cambridge.]

volumes in 1910 and 1913, under the title of "Biographical Register of Christ's College." The amount of labour which he put into this was enormous, and the book is both a memorial of his zeal and love for the College, which, under his rule, grew and flourished, and a monument to the labours of many generations of its members. During Peile's tenure of the Vice-Chancellorship, the long-standing conflict between the Town and the University was brought to an end, chiefly through his tact and influence. The University surrendered its jurisdiction over persons not belonging to its own body, and received representation on the Town Council.

As soon as the Semitic Languages Tripos examination was over in the Lent Term of 1882, Wright arranged to read Arabic and Ethiopic with me, and continued to do so until the end of the Lent Term of 1883. I was fortunate enough to hear the course of lectures which he gave on Comparative Semitic Grammar in the winter of 1882-83, the first of the kind ever given in England. They were of special value to me because he showed, as no Assyriologist had ever been able to do, the true position which the Semitic language of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions occupied in the northern group of Semitic Languages. Many of the texts which we read were studied in his own house, and there in his work-room, with his beloved grey parrot uncaged by his side, he helped me to struggle through Phœnician inscriptions and many chapters of the Mandaitic text in Norberg's "*Codex Nasareus*." He impressed upon me the necessity of reading Semitic texts of all kinds continually, and he proved to me that the best way of doing this was to copy and translate unpublished texts and to prepare them for publication. He was emphatic in insisting upon the necessity of publishing translations of such texts in some modern language for the use of theologians, historians, and others who would never have the time to learn Oriental languages. As an exercise in such work I translated the whole of the Homilies of Aphraates in Syriac, which he had edited, and he revised the translation and wished me to publish it, but finding that a

German translation¹ was about to appear I abandoned the idea of publishing it. At this time he drew up a list of Syriac and Ethiopic texts, and suggested that the publication of these with translations into English would form a useful occupation for me for the rest of my life. Several of these I have already published, and I hope that I may be able to publish the rest of them in due course.

The parrot referred to above, which might almost be regarded as Wright's "familiar," deserves much more than a casual mention. He began his career in Wright's house in the drawing-room. After a short time, when he had found his bearings, he began to say to visitors either "Give us a drink," or "Give us a kiss," and when disturbed by any sudden noise or movement he would exclaim, "O Hell!" One day a beautiful Persian cat, which was a great pet in the house, and was idolized by everyone, jumped up on the table near his cage, and walked over to the side of a visitor, expecting to get a drink of milk. The parrot screamed with rage, and his language was such that he was promptly banished to his master's study, where he lived circumspectly for some time. Finally he disgraced himself in the presence of two "dons" by whistlings and noisy chucklings, and when he was sternly rebuked by Wright in a very severe voice, he cried out, "Damn David, damn David," in a voice which so closely resembled that of his master that the "dons" were startled and greatly amused. The parrot was then removed to the dining-room, and all went well, and he behaved himself with great propriety, until a certain evening when Wright gave a small dinner-party. On that occasion Wright's guests consisted of eight University friends, among them being two Professors of Divinity, Dr. Campion, of Queens', and Professor Bensly. The parrot was pleased with the conversation, and whistled and chuckled, and called "puss, puss, puss," and mewed like a cat, and thoroughly enjoyed

¹ By Bert, who published his translation in Von Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, vol. iii, Leipzig, 1888.

himself. Then he exclaimed, "O Hell!" once or twice, which created a general laugh, and then Mrs. Wright got up and, taking the large handkerchief which was kept for the purpose, threw it over the cage, and promised the parrot a "bone" if he was good. Presently, in the unaccountable way in which such things happen, a silence fell upon the company, and suddenly the parrot cried out, "Damn the Minor Prophets!" in a tone of voice which was so like that of his master that the speaker might have been Wright himself. This expression by the parrot of his opinion of the Minor Prophets was followed by shouts of laughter, in which the parrot joined. When these had subsided somewhat, Wright, who was one of the Committee of the Revisers of the Bible who were then actually at work on the Minor Prophets, began hastily to explain that the parrot must have picked up this profane remark from the lad who worked in the garden, and said that he would admonish the lad at the first opportunity. But I could never find out that any of his guests on that memorable evening were prepared to accept that explanation unreservedly. After that evening the parrot was taken back to the study, where he was more often out of his cage than in it. He thoroughly enjoyed his master's society and remarks, and perched on his shoulders and sidled down his arms, and no doubt added to his wisdom and vocabulary. He was a very handsome bird, and his articulation was extraordinarily clear and distinct. He never admitted me to full membership in his friendship, but he honoured me so far as to eat through my coat collar when he sat on my neck, and on another occasion he bit my cap in pieces, and caught my thumb in his beak when I tried to take the remains from him.

No one with the love of Oriental languages in him, and the will and the power to work, could wish or hope for a pleasanter life than that which I led for a year at Cambridge when examinations were things of the past. There was a vast amount of work to be done, facilities were abundant, encouragement was to be met with in every quarter, and assistance was to be had for the

asking. But scholarships do not last indefinitely, and permanent employment had to be looked for. In the autumn of 1882 I had an interview with Mr. Gladstone, who decided what this employment was to be. In 1880 Birch wrote to Cambridge and told me that Mr. Rassam had telegraphed from Assyria asking for my services, and wanted to know if I would go out to the East to assist Mr. Rassam on a two years' appointment. When the offer was placed before Mr. Gladstone he advised me to decline it, saying that if I ever went to the East to do archæological work it must be as a servant of the Trustees of the British Museum, on their permanent staff. At the interview with Mr. Gladstone in 1882 he referred to the offer made to me in 1880, to go and assist Rassam at Môsul, and said that he was of opinion that I should be of more use in the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum than anywhere else. He went on to say that, after a conversation with Birch on the matter, he had obtained a nomination to an Assistantship in the Department, that he would have the necessary provision made in the British Museum Estimates for the year, and that if I satisfied the Civil Service Commissioners it would be possible for me to take up my duties at the beginning of the next financial year, *i.e.*, in April, 1883.

I ventured to remind him that the initial salary (£120) was very small, but he brushed aside my objection, and told me that a man's salary was a matter of very little importance in comparison with the progress of the subject on which he was working. Salaries in the British Museum were notoriously small, and he had made some efforts to increase them, but the constitution of the Museum made his efforts futile. But personally he considered an occupation in the Museum, such as he was proposing for me, so delightful that he thought that a man ought to be glad to work there for no salary at all. He wished that such a life of study had been his lot, for he had always wanted to have unlimited time in a large library, where he could work out in full all the questions connected with the archæology of the *Iliad*, and the

general history of the early civilisations of the Mediterranean. His friend, Lord Acton, worked in the Museum constantly, and had told him that he enjoyed his toil there so much that he often forgot about his lunch, and went on making extracts and notes, until the officials, to his great disgust, reported that closing time had arrived, and he had to leave the building.¹ Therefore he wished me to enter the Museum, and to do all the original work I was capable of, and he finished the conversation by telling me that if it were necessary for me to visit Paris, or Munich, or Rome, to work in the libraries there, he would be glad to find the necessary funds. Early in 1883 Mr. (later Sir) Edward A. Bond, Principal Librarian and Secretary of the British Museum,² communicated with me, and on April 9th, 1883, I became an Assistant in the Department of Oriental Antiquities, at a salary of £120, with an annual increment of £10.

Between 1880 and 1883 very considerable changes had taken place in the Department, and these were caused chiefly by the removal of the Natural History Collections to South Kensington. The immediate result of this removal was that five rooms in the Northern Gallery were allotted to Birch's Department, and also

¹ This fact about Lord Acton is literally true, and Dr. Garnett told me that during the periods when Lord Acton was reading regularly in the North Library, he always took care at closing time to have the recesses in the various rooms searched, lest Lord Acton should be locked up for the night in one of them.

² The Principal Librarian was by the Act of Incorporation (26 George II, Cap. 22, § XV) chiefly entrusted with the care and custody of the Museum. He is responsible for the safety of the Museum and of the property and collections therein, and exercises a general superintendence over the Departments, manages the staff, and grants admission to all who study in the Museum or need admission for any purpose whatsoever. He is also the Secretary to the Trustees, and as such attends all meetings of the Trustees, takes down the minutes of their proceedings, transmits the orders to the staff, etc. He is assisted in the care and custody of the Museum by the Subordinate Officers, viz., Keepers, Assistants and Attendants. The Principal Librarian is now styled "Director and Principal Librarian," or "Director," and the Attendants are now styled "Museum Clerks."

the two studies at the west end of the Northern Gallery, which had been occupied by Mr. Story-Maskelyne and Professor Sir R. Owen, and the large room¹ which ran parallel with the fourth room of the Northern Gallery, on the north of it. When the Trustees decided to build the Mausoleum Room, Birch had left his old room (see pp. 21, 22), and migrated to the study in the Northern Gallery upstairs, formerly occupied by Mr. Story-Maskelyne, and the little room had been pulled down. He had begun to transfer the Egyptian Collections, which were exhibited in the last two rooms of the present Vase Gallery, to the Northern Gallery, and had brought up from the ground floor and basement the large cases which contained the Egyptian Papyri, and various collections of unexhibited Assyrian antiquities. These changes were warmly welcomed by Birch, who, for the first time, was able to exhibit the smaller Egyptian antiquities, and could now work at the papyri with more facility and convenience than he had ever enjoyed.

For some months after my entry into the Museum I was occupied in continuing the removal of the Collections to their new places, under Birch's instructions, and in helping him to create an Assyrian and Babylonian Room in the Northern Gallery, and a Phœnician Room,² and in working off some of the arrears, which were very great. In 1884 Rawlinson, who edited the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia" for the Trustees of the British Museum,³ suggested that I should assist in copying material for his great *Corpus* of texts, and Birch agreed to the suggestion. In endeavouring to carry out this work difficulties, which need not be described here, were made in a certain quarter, and the obstruction became so pronounced that I determined to abandon the work, and told Birch my decision. An interview with the Principal Librarian followed, and he

¹ This is now absorbed in the large room which joins the old to the new building.

² This was due to a suggestion made to Birch by Wright.

³ He was elected a Member of the Standing Committee in 1878.

told me that he had discussed the matter with Birch, and I had better abandon the copying of Assyrian for official purposes, at least for a time, and devote all my time and energies to the Egyptian section of the Department, which sorely needed attention. This arrangement eased the situation, though it seemed to me as if all the years of study which I had undertaken for a specific purpose were wasted. I could not then foresee that such knowledge of cuneiform as I possessed was to be put to a decided test in a few years' time (1887) in Egypt, and that I should be called upon to decide whether the Tall al-'Amârnah Tablets, which were written in cuneiform, were genuine or not, and whether I should acquire them for the Museum or not. No cuneiform tablets had ever been found in Egypt before 1887, and none have been found there since. If I had known no cuneiform I should certainly have rejected them as forgeries,¹ and the British Museum would have possessed no portion of this wonderful "find." One fact, however, was quite clear, and I believe that it counted for much in the mind of the Principal Librarian. Birch sorely needed help, for when I began to serve under him he was in the seventieth year of his age, and the work in the Department was increasing daily. Up to the time when the Principal Librarian made this arrangement, none of Birch's Assistants had ever assisted him in the Egyptian section of the Department, for each was too much occupied with his own work to have time to help in the daily routine. The whole of the removal of the collections to their new resting places was superintended by Birch, and he re-arranged them with his own hands. It is possible that he might have obtained help if he had pressed his claims like other Keepers; but it was the nature of the man to bear anything and do anything rather than make a fuss. Whether as scholar or official he was equally diffident.

¹ For some years after they were found Oppert persisted in declaring that they were forgeries, just as Maspero asserted that the predynastic antiquities dug up at Abydos by Amélineau were forgeries made by natives of Kurnah.

Birch having decided upon his course of action set to work without delay to train me to become useful. The only Egyptological knowledge I possessed I had derived from the Egyptian lectures which he and Professor Naville had given at the house of Mr. Wyatt Papworth in 1875-77, and from copying out during those years the whole of Birch's "Dictionary of Hieroglyphics,"¹ and on that knowledge he began to build. Under his direction I read through his "Egyptian Texts" and Reinisch's "Aegyptische Chrestomathie," and the works of Chabas, de Rougé, and Maspero, and he revised my transcripts of hieratic texts. I also read with him many parts of Champollion's famous "Grammaire Egyptienne," and several religious and mythological texts in his "Notices Descriptives," and he explained to me why the eminent Frenchman's system of decipherment was correct, and made me see the importance of his great knowledge of Coptic, and how it contributed to the final success of his work. Always anxious for the publication of new texts, he advised me to copy and translate the whole mass of religious texts on the sarcophagus of Queen Ankhnesneferabrâ, and when the manuscript of the work was finished he helped me to find a publisher for it.² When the book

¹ Published in the fifth volume of the English translation of Bunsen's *Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*. A writer in the *Saturday Review*, January 2nd, 1886, rightly remarks: "He (i.e., Birch) never asserted his ownership of ideas and discoveries. . . . When we seek, for example, the two most important pieces of work that Dr. Birch, or indeed any Englishman ever did in Egyptology, we look in the Catalogue, not under 'Birch' but under 'Bunsen' and under 'Wilkinson.' Who would think of consulting the 'Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians' for accurate information, but for Dr. Birch's annotations on a text written with imperfect knowledge and the bias of a strong prejudice? Similarly, the fifth volume of a book so full of theories, most if not all of them mistaken, as 'Egypt's Place in Universal History,' owes its exceptional value to the Grammar and Dictionary which Dr. Birch added to it." To these examples may be added Birch's "Introduction to the Study of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics," in Wilkinson's "Egyptians in the Time of the Pharaohs" (pp. 175-282).

² *The Sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferab* (London, 1885, 4to).

was published he handed over to me one of the Bremner (Rhind) papyri to transcribe from hieratic into hieroglyphic characters, and translate it, but he did not live to see its publication.¹ Thus things went on for about a year and a half.

In the summer of 1885 Birch began to show signs of failing health. A few years previously he had obtained permission from the Trustees to relinquish his official residence within the precincts, and from about 1880 to the time of his death he lived in Camden Town. The daily journey to and from the Museum tired him greatly, and in the winter he often arrived in his room wet through. He kept two coats and two umbrellas specially for his daily journeys, but he was worse off than the man who had only one coat and one umbrella, because owing to his forgetfulness they were rarely available when he wanted them. His mental faculties were clear and active, and he continued to be the mainspring of much archaeological work. With the view of making him take a holiday, his friends persuaded him to attend the British Archaeological Congress, which was held at Brighton in the late summer of 1885, and he did so. But instead of resting and enjoying the results of the labours of others, he threw himself heart and soul into the work of the Congress, and he was welcomed enthusiastically by its members. He read papers on the history of Chichester under the Romans, and a paper on British Coins, on which at one time he had been a leading authority, and went about on excursions and described the Roman remains in the neighbourhood to large audiences. When he returned to London it was clear to all that he had overtaxed his strength. About the middle of December he got wet, caught a chill, and died on Sunday, the 27th.

¹ I published a complete hieroglyphic transcript of this papyrus (Brit. Mus. No. 10,188), with interlinear transliteration and translation, in *Archæologia*, vol. lii, and a facsimile of the hieratic text, with a revised hieroglyphic transcript and translation in *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, London, 1910, folio. This papyrus contains the famous "Book of Overthrowing Āpepi," now generally known as the "Book of Apophis."

By the death of Birch Egyptology lost one of its founders, the Society of Biblical Archæology its creator and President, and the Trustees of the British Museum the greatest "all-round" scholar and original thinker and archæological pioneer who was ever in their service.

On the death of Birch the Department was placed for a few days under the charge of Mr. (later Sir) C. T. Newton, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, and when he resigned¹ it passed into the custody of Birch's old friend and colleague, Mr. (later Sir) Wollaston Franks, Keeper of the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities and Ethnography. He was a man with a marvellously wide knowledge of every kind of antiquity, and possessed an almost uncanny faculty of recognising forgeries whenever and wherever he saw them. A mere list of his gifts to the Museum would fill a volume, and he was a generous supporter of all worthy archæological projects. He loved the Museum, and was proud of its honourable traditions, and, in the words of his successor, always "preferred the old methods to any change that might involve loss of the ancient dignity of the Institution." In 1886 and later he proved himself a good friend to me. On January 5th, 1886, Mr. Franks wrote to the Trustees, suggesting that the Department of which Birch had been Keeper should be re-named. He pointed out that his own Department was the depository of antiquities from the Far East—*e.g.*, Burmah, Java, India—and that he was about to open an exhibition gallery which would be called the "Oriental Saloon," and since Birch's Department contained the Egyptian Collections, and collections from Carthage, Phœnicia, and Mesopotamia, he suggested that it should be re-named "Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities." On February 13th the Trustees approved the suggestion made by Mr. Franks, and the Department of Oriental Antiquities received its

¹ He was succeeded by A. S. Murray, LL.D., on February 13th, 1886.

new name. On May 1st Mr. (later Sir) P. Renouf was appointed Birch's successor in the Department.

In the summer of 1886 General Sir F. W. (now Field-Marshal Lord) Grenfell, Sardâr (Sirdar) of the Egyptian Army, was in England, and was seeking for someone with a knowledge of Egyptology who would go out to Egypt and dig out for him the rock-hewn tombs of the VIth and XIIth dynasties at Aswân (Syene), where, with the help of Muṣṭafâ Shakîr, he had made some interesting discoveries. A number of antiquities had been found during these clearances, and of these General Grenfell claimed a share; and it was reported to the Principal Librarian that he was willing to give this share to the British Museum, if the Trustees would send me out to Egypt to finish the work which he had begun. The new Keeper of the Department reported favourably on the proposal, and when the Principal Librarian brought the matter before the Trustees they ordered application to be made to the Treasury for the necessary money. The Treasury consulted the Foreign Office, and the Foreign Office referred the matter to the British authorities in Cairo. There was considerable delay in obtaining an answer, due, I heard later, to the fact that the British Consul-General in Egypt feared that some "international complication" would take place if a servant of the British Museum were allowed to occupy himself with antiquities in Egypt. Fortunately for me, the question was referred by Sir Evelyn Baring to General Grenfell, who, during his career as Sardâr and subsequently as General Commanding the British Army of Occupation, proved himself to be a true and powerful friend of myself and of every archæologist. General Grenfell argued that as representatives of the great national Museums of Russia, France and Germany were already in Egypt, and were doing well for their Governments, there was no good reason for preventing a representative of the British Museum from following their example, and he was in favour of my going to Egypt, and reported accordingly. In his report he pointed out to Sir Evelyn the great importance of the

tombs, both archæologically and historically, and urged him to sanction the proposal, especially as the clearance of the tombs would cost Egypt nothing, and all expenses connected with the excavations would be defrayed by himself. Further, he wrote to Lord Salisbury, who supported his scheme, and told the Treasury that he had no objection to my proceeding to Egypt to excavate the tombs. The Treasury, therefore, sanctioned the expenditure of £150 on the Mission. The Trustees gave me four months' leave of absence, and directed me to place myself at the disposal of Sir Francis Grenfell. I was also directed, if possible, to get into touch with native dealers from whom a regular supply of antiquities might be obtained for the British Museum.

The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University (Dr. Swainson, Master of Christ's), hearing that I was to be sent to Egypt, asked the Principal Librarian (through Professor W. Wright) to allow me to expend the sum of £100 on Egyptian antiquities on behalf of the Fitzwilliam Museum, and with his full consent and approval I undertook the commission.¹

¹ The objects which I purchased for the Fitzwilliam Museum were exhibited at a meeting of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in May, 1887, when I gave a full account of them. At the same time I submitted a detailed list of them, which was printed in the *Cambridge University Reporter*, No. 686, May 17th, 1887. A fuller description of them is printed, with the hieroglyphic texts, in my *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1893, 8vo).

FIRST MISSION, 1886-87.

I LEFT Tilbury Docks on November 18th in the P. & O. steamship "Pekin," and arrived at Port Sa'id on the last day of the month. A stay of twelve hours at Valetta, and the help of a friendly monk, enabled me to see most of the sights in the town, and also the famous "dried monks" at Floriana. Those who embalm the monks seem to be acquainted with a system of mummification uncommonly like that practised by the ancient Egyptians. Among the passengers was the Rev. W. J. Loftie, Assistant-Chaplain of the Chapel Royal, Savoy, and an enthusiastic archæologist.¹ He gave me a great many

¹ He was obliged to winter in Egypt for his health's sake, and he took the opportunity of visiting many parts of the Delta where Europeans rarely go. Though not so profound, his knowledge of modern Egypt was of the same character as that of Lane and Bonomi. He knew very little Arabic, but he and the natives understood each other, and they loved him, and he and his donkey were favourite guests in every village. He had great taste, and was a very successful collector of scarabs and of small, pretty Egyptian antiquities; his instinct was rarely at fault, and he seldom bought forgeries. He made several collections of scarabs, and the best of these collections, consisting of 190 specimens, was acquired by the British Museum in 1890. Whether the day was hot or cold, or wet or dry, or whether he was in the desert or in the town, he always wore the characteristic dress of the English clergyman, and he was very fastidious about small details of dress in England. I used to see him sitting on a bundle of sugar canes by the side of a canal in the Delta, eating onions and water melons and native bread, and drinking out of the earthenware bottle which was common to all, and which was filled from time to time from the said canal; and I marvelled if this could be the same man whom no cook in a London Club could satisfy. And the fact that he was surrounded by hot, perspiring, more than half-naked fallahin, whose style of eating and drinking was somewhat primitive, seemed to be hardly noticed by him. Loftie was a witty and amusing companion, with a quick sense of humour, and he was naturally clever, but his delicate health prevented him doing all that he was well able to do in History, Architecture, and Art. He advised and guided many young workers. Few of Kate Greenaway's most ardent admirers know

hints which proved to be valuable, and at Port Sa'id introduced me to several of his friends among the European residents. On arriving at Port Sa'id, Mr. George Royle,¹ the Director of the Suez Canal Coal Company, and P. & O. Agent, who was commonly called the "King" of the Port, took me ashore in his launch, and facilitated my departure for Cairo the next morning by the Post-boat, which left at dawn. Incredible though it may seem, no serious attempt was made to join Port Sa'id and Cairo by railway for many years after the occupation of Egypt by the British. To reach Cairo from Port Sa'id the traveller had to go to Isma'iliyah, the nearest point on the Cairo-Suez line, and board the train there, and the only means of reaching Isma'iliyah quickly was a small steam launch, which carried the post, and took six hours to cover the fifty miles that divided the two places. Stepping into the Post-boat from Mr. Royle's roomy and comfortable launch, the accommodation seemed very limited; there was no shelter from sun or wind, and the passengers who failed to bring their own food with them went hungry. We left Port Sa'id as dawn was breaking, and when I saw the variety of lights which accompanied the sunrise, it seemed to me that I had entered a new world, and that

that it was he who first recognized her extraordinary ability to illustrate children's books, and that it was entirely due to him that she was brought to devote her energies to the branch of art which has made her name a household word.

¹ The development of the Port is due largely to George Royle, whose farsightedness enabled him to see a brilliant future for the wretched little town, which was then a mere coaling place for steamers, and the abode of the scum of the Levant. He advocated the reclamation of the land on the west of the Port, and the large residential quarter which he established there, and which is continually growing, is a fine monument of his foresight and judgment. He next attacked the keepers of the numerous gambling hells and dens of infamy which flourished there, and little by little got them suppressed. His wife, whom sailors on all the sea routes which passed through the Suez Canal called "beautiful Mrs. Royle," lived year in and year out at the Port, and devoted her days with conspicuous success to making better the health, morals and manners of the natives and foreigners about her.

I had never seen the sun rise before. I was amazed at the sight of the Suez Canal, with its seemingly endless processions of ships gliding silently northwards and southwards over that insignificant strip of blue water; and the sight of the sandy and stony wastes which stretched away into indefinite distance on the eastern side of the Canal, though smiling under the golden rays of the morning sun, filled me with a certain fear, which has always returned whenever I have looked upon the desert. Everything was strange, everything wonderful to me, and we passed through Lake Manzālah almost before I realized it, and came to Al-Ḳanṭarah, where the Canal cuts through the "Bridge of Nations." Another hour took us through Lake Balāḥ, and very soon after we tied up at the landing-stage of Isma'īlīyah.

At that time many passengers for Cairo preferred to travel from Port Sa'id to Isma'īlīyah in the large ships, and special arrangements were made at the latter port for their disembarkation. As these were supposed to be especially well-to-do, the natives awaited the arrival of the mail steamers with eagerness, and not only expected, but actually received, much *bakhshīsh*¹ for carrying their luggage to the train. Those who travelled by the Post-boat were not held to be of much account, and therefore only the scum of the town turned out to meet us and transport our baggage. As soon as our boat was tied up a most evil-looking lot of half-naked natives swarmed on to it, and seizing the baggage made off with it, leaving its owners to follow as best they might. There were no polyglot officials of Mr. Cook, with gold-peaked caps, to help the visitor at Isma'īlīyah in those days. As the train from Suez was late there was plenty of time to look about the pretty little settlement of the Canal Company's officials, and to admire the skill with which they had made squares and streets, bordered with rows of trees, and gardens out of a miserable

¹ Persian بخشش a "gift," "tip," "pourboire"; commonly pronounced "bukhshīsh." Children in Egypt often shorten the word to "shish."

swamp. Many of the natives had a bleached, fever-stricken look, and cases of fever were very numerous. Fifteen years later the town authorities decided to drain away all the shallow pools of water in which mosquitoes bred, and the health of the town improved at once. Returning to the station after the train came in—for in those days trains in Egypt waited for the passenger—we found the taking of tickets and weighing of luggage a serious matter. The men who had seized the baggage pushed their victims wherever they pleased, and shouted instructions to them at the top of their voices; and many free fights took place at the train doors between those who had carried the baggage and those who only said they had. The most serious difficulty was encountered by a party of American ladies, who had some very large Saratoga trunks, which could not be got through the door of the brake-van, even though they had paid a good round sum for excess luggage. Everybody in the station gave his advice freely, and cigarettes were lighted, and the public and the officials talked the matter over in a leisurely manner with great content; only the engine-driver seemed impatient, and at last, after frantic whistling, he started the train and left the boxes behind. Viewed in the light of knowledge acquired subsequently, it is sad to think how the passengers by the Post-boat that day were robbed.

The first part of the journey through the Wâdi Tûmilât was uninteresting, for the whole country was then desert, and the reclamation of the land had not begun, but when the rich, fertile district about Kaşşâşîn and Tall al-Kabîr was reached it was easy to understand why the Jews settled there under Joseph's protection. At Zagazig (Az-Zakâzîk) the station was crowded with natives, and to a stranger like myself the whole scene was most interesting. Dealers in anticas from the site of the ancient city of Bubastis climbed up into the carriages from both sides of the line, and the half hour's halt was agreeably spent in buying good Delta scarabs for two or three piastres apiece, and quite good figures of the cat-headed goddess Bast for a piastre apiece.

It was my very first deal in anticas, and as my negotiations were carried on chiefly in the language of signs, I, of course, paid too much for my purchases; but I made the acquaintance and somehow gained the good will of two natives, from whom, in later years, I acquired many valuable objects for the Museum. Zagazig was then even more noisy than it is now, and the huge bales of cotton loaded on endless rows of trucks, and the little locomotives, and the shouting, ragged workmen interested me greatly. Besides the anticas I was thankful to be able to buy some native bread-cakes, dates, boiled eggs, and a porous earthenware bottle full of cool, clean Nile water (one of the most delicious things in the world), for nothing to eat was to be had at Isma'iliyah. Moreover, during the railway part of the journey we were smothered with dust. The line was unballasted, the coaches were old and rickety, the windows and doors were loose, and the dust, in a continuous stream, came in under the doors and between the window-sashes, and through the circular openings made in the roof to admit lamps. This choking, blinding dust filled the ears, nose and eyes, and caked on the lips, and was most irritating to mind and body because the annoyance was so unnecessary; with a little more care in building the coaches could have been made practically dust-proof.

We continued our journey to Cairo viâ Balbês, instead of Benhâ as now, and when nearing Cairo I caught a glimpse of the two larger of the Pyramids of Gizah, standing out like a pair of twin breasts against the red light of the western sun. Then the minarets of the citadel appeared in slender beauty, and then many more minarets and domes of mosques, and then, having passed through luxuriant gardens and plantations, we ran into the old "Railway Station." I found it impossible to believe that I was actually in "Grand Cairo." There the scene I had witnessed at Isma'iliyah was repeated on a larger scale, and the cries and shouts of the self-appointed porters and donkey-boys were deafening and bewildering. In the midst of all this a

British soldier, sent by the Sardâr, Sir Francis Grenfell appeared, and I was delivered from the Egyptians, and driven to the Sardâr's house, where I received a very warm welcome. The Sardâr introduced me to many of the British officers who were in the service of the Khedive, and spared neither time nor trouble in helping me to carry out the instructions which I had received from the Principal Librarian and from my immediate Chief. In the course of the evening the Sardâr told me his plans, and what he expected me to do. He intended to leave Cairo on the following Friday, December 4th, to make a tour of inspection in Upper Egypt and Nubia, and to take me with him to Aswân, where he would leave me in order to prepare a report on the tombs there. On his return to Aswân he would consider the report, and decide upon a course of action. Thus I had three days clear in which to go about Cairo and make the acquaintance of the dealers in antiquities, to visit the Bûlâk Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, and to improve my Arabic.

On the following day I waited upon the British Consul-General, Sir E. Baring, and presented my letters of introduction. He was civil to me, but gave me to understand, with the frankness of which he was such a master, that he was not prepared to support any scheme of excavations by any agent of the Trustees of the British Museum, whether working on their behalf or that of anyone else. He thought that excavations made in Egypt by a British official were likely to "complicate political relationships," and that the occupation of Egypt by the British ought not to be made an excuse for filching antiquities from the country, whether to England or anywhere else. He spoke with some irritation of the annoyance which he had suffered from several British archæologists and amateur dealers who were in Cairo at that moment, and having quite made up his mind that I was of the same kidney, he politely but firmly got me out of his room. In the afternoon of the same day, at an entertainment given by the Sardâr in his house, I met Sir John Eldon Gorst, who at once

began to talk to me about the colossal statue of Rameses II, which was then lying buried in a deep hole in the mud at Mît Rahînah (Memphis). This statue was given to the British Nation by Muḥammad 'Alî in 1820, and after the Occupation by the British in 1882, a movement was made by archæologists to get it dug up out of the hole, and despatched to England. Sir Frederick Stephenson, who commanded the British troops in Egypt, took very great interest in the matter, and was collecting a sum of money among his friends to pay for the tackle, labour, etc., necessary for raising the statue. Sir John Gorst told me that he did not believe the statue had ever been given to the British, but whether it had or not, we ought not to attempt to remove it because its removal would annoy the French. I told him that the eminent French archæologist, Mariette, had stated that the statue was the property of the British, and that I hoped Sir Frederick Stephenson would get it up out of the mud and send it to England. Sir John warned me not to repeat this hope, and called upon me to support, by every means in my power, the opinion of Sir E. Baring and himself, that the statue must not leave the country. He was wholly opposed to the export of antiquities from Egypt; it was quite right of the British Museum to send me to help the Sârdâr to dig out tombs, but everything found must stay in Egypt. The attitude of Sir E. Baring and Sir J. Gorst puzzled me, but as I knew quite well that the agents for the great Continental Museums regularly despatched to them collections of antiquities, I determined to follow their example, if I could find out the way they managed their affairs, and send home collections to the British Museum.

In the course of the evening the Rev. W. J. Loftie carried me off to an annexe of the Hôtel du Nil, in the Mûskî, where I found assembled Walter Myers, Henry Wallis, Greville Chester, a couple of dealers, and several other men who were interested in Egyptian antiquities. The Hôtel du Nil (unfortunately it no longer exists) was in reality an old Khân, which a clever Frenchman had managed to turn into a modern hotel, and it was

comparatively cheap and exceedingly comfortable. It had been much frequented by the better class of native travellers, who found ample accommodation for their donkeys and camels on the ground floor, and for themselves in the upper floor, in the cubicles which ran round three sides of the courtyard. In the course of a long evening's talk I learned many things about the "antiquarian politics" of Cairo, and found the information I received from the company generally most useful in later days.

The next day (December 3rd), I devoted the whole morning to an examination of the Egyptian antiquities which Maspero had cleverly arranged in the main building of the old Post Office at Bûlâḳ. The statues from the maṣṭabah¹ tombs at Ṣaḳḳârah, the bas-reliefs of the earliest dynasties, and the sarcophagi of the Ancient Empire, filled me with wonder, for I had never seen anything like them before, and the beauty of early Egyptian art, and the wall-decoration from tombs of the IVth dynasty came upon me as a revelation. The sight of the royal mummies from Dêr al-Baḥarî was distressing, though of thrilling interest. Āāḥmes I, Thothmes III, Āmenḥetep III, Seti I, Rameses II the Great, and many another mighty king lay there naked in mean deal cases, glazed with the cheapest of blown glass; the frames of the covers had shrunk, and none of them fitted, and in several of them the shrinking of the frames had broken the glass panes. The waters of the Nile washed the walls of the Post Office, and whenever a heavy white mist rose from the river in the winter mornings it entered the Museum, and condensed on the glass panes in the cases which held the royal mummies, and ran down inside on the floor of the cases; and the floor of the Museum on which the public walked was reeking wet through the white mist from the river the day I was there. It seemed as if no one at Bûlâḳ knew or cared about the preservation of the antiquities. Maspero's "Guide" was a delightful book, at once interesting and informing,

¹ The word means literally a "bench," then a bench-like long low seat or dîwân.

but it is astonishing that a man like Maspero, who demanded so much in the way of indexes and critical apparatus, etc., from other scholars, should have sent his book out into the world without an index! Thanks to the kindness of an official of the Bûlâk Museum, who found me wandering about, I was enabled to see the "Magazine," or store-house, in which were heaped up the objects which could not be exhibited in the Museum owing to lack of space. There I saw stacked up coffins and mummies, funerary-boxes, tomb-furniture, and endless cases of smaller antiquities which had been brought there from all parts of the country. The "Magazine" consisted of many sheds, which had been built one after the other as occasion required, and every one of them was so full that I could not imagine where further acquisitions could be stored. I found, by asking questions, that none of these objects were registered, or even numbered, and that no one knew exactly what the contents of the "Magazine" were, not even Maspero himself. The natives used to say that any official of the Museum might steal anything he liked, and that if he could carry it out of the building he would never be detected; and as both the Museum and the "Magazine" stood in an industrial quarter of Cairo, and were surrounded by workshops of all kinds, the risk from fire seemed to me to be very great. In spite of this there was no adequate apparatus for extinguishing fire, and I saw no hydrants in either building.

Guided by Greville Chester¹ I went about Cairo and made the acquaintance of several dealers, and also

¹ Ill-health compelled Chester to winter in southern and eastern climes, and he travelled extensively in Southern Europe, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. During these travels he began to collect antiquities, and his good classical education and a naturally good antiquarian instinct enabled him to acquire many valuable objects at very moderate prices. On returning to England at the end of his first journey, he found that the Keepers of the Departments of Antiquities in the British Museum wanted to buy most of his acquisitions, and he made it convenient to sell them, making a small profit on the transaction. Each year he bought more than the last, and each year the Keepers increased their purchases, and thus, little by little,

visited a number of private houses where antiquities were stored. It was interesting to find an ancient Egyptian custom surviving among the modern dwellers in Cairo. The ancient Egyptians used to bury figures of gods, etc., under their houses to prevent evil spirits and devils entering them from the earth, and I found in

Chester became a source of supply, more especially for the Egyptian Collection. His taste and judgment were good, and he quickly profited by the hints of the Museum experts; given a little more capital and boldness he would have developed into a first-class dealer. He was a tall, large, bearded man, with handsome, well-cut features and shrewd grey eyes, and of generous disposition. The Egyptians loved him, and his kindness, sympathy and bonhomie endeared him to them. He talked very little Arabic and that little badly. I have seen him, rather scantily clad, striding through villages in Upper Egypt shouting, "Fi dumdum rakhis" (i.e., "Has anybody got any beads [to sell] cheap?"), or "Fi antikât" (i.e., "Has anybody got any anticas [to sell]?"). He filled many travelling bags with his collections, and we always marvelled how he managed to pass his treasures through the Custom Houses of Egypt, Turkey and Greece. He got into difficulties with the officers of Customs in every port, and baffled them by feigning ignorance of the language and making a judicious use of *bakhshish*. His friends never understood how he managed to persuade the officials that his heavy leather bags contained nothing but "wearing apparel" when they were filled with pottery, bronze statues, stone stelæ and even parts of coffins. Only once was he worsted, and that by a Greek whom he described for ever after as a "bloodless pagan." He was arrested at Jabél in Syria "for trafficking in anticas and possessing a Kur'ân and corrupting the Syrians," and all the artifices which he usually employed when in such situations having failed, he presented his bags and their contents to the Mudir of Customs. During the night the Mudir sold them back to him, sent them on board, and accompanied Chester the following day to the steamer, and wished him a successful voyage. At Bérût also he was arrested, but a native fellow passenger was induced by him to declare that Chester's bags were his property, and the Mudir of Customs apologised for his mistake in thinking that they were Chester's. By a strange coincidence, two days later, he found the native and the bags of anticas on the ship in which he was sailing for Athens. He assured me in relating the incident that Syrian Christians were much maligned men, and that when Europeans took the trouble to understand them their virtues appeared. For many years the importation of the Bible into Syrian ports was prohibited, but Chester always managed to secrete his copy, and he treasured it greatly because, he said, it reminded him daily of the many "happy fights" which he had had over it with the officers of Customs in the East.

Fustât, or "Old Cairo," that many householders had buried under their thresholds bronze figures of gods, stone *ushabtiu* figures, and even portrait statues, for the same purpose as their ancestors. In one quarter the first stone a man stepped on after passing through his street door was always an ancient Egyptian sepulchral stele, and the greater number of those which I saw were laid with the inscribed side uppermost. Both the stones and the inscriptions were supposed to be "lucky," and the hieroglyphic characters were believed by many to have magic in them. The householders who owned such stones, having discovered that they possessed monetary value, were taking up the inscribed stelæ inside their doors, and selling them, and in later years I bought many good ones at moderate prices.

On December 4th the Sardâr left Cairo with his staff on a tour of inspection in Upper Egypt and Nubia, and took me with him, as arranged. We travelled by rail to Asyût (which was then the terminus), where we arrived in the early morning, and I rode out with some of the party into the hills to see some tombs of the Ancient and Middle Empires, of which we had received information. On our return we embarked on the new and splendid passenger steamer, "Prince Abbas," the first of the new line of large passenger steamers which Messrs. Thomas Cook had prepared for the Nile, and Mr. J. M. Cook was on board, personally directing her maiden voyage. We arrived at Akhmîm (the ancient Panopolis) early on Sunday morning, and Mr. J. M. Cook stopped there for some hours to enable us to inspect the mass of Græco-Roman and Coptic antiquities and manuscripts which had been found there a short time before we visited the town. The dealers welcomed us warmly, and whilst many of the passengers went off to see the old Christian cemetery and the Græco-Roman tombs in the hills, the Sardâr, and Captain John Grenfell Maxwell¹ and myself examined the antiquities. I secured

¹ Now General the Right Hon. Sir J. G. Maxwell, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., etc. Sir John Maxwell has always been an enthusiastic collector of

some things, and was astonished to find that the dealers were ready to send their property with me to England, and to receive payment later on. The following day we arrived at Kanâ, and as the Sardâr had important military matters to discuss with the Mudîr, Mr. J. M. Cook kept the steamer there for several hours longer than usual, and I had plenty of time to visit the houses of the dealers, and see their collections. Our next important stopping place was Luxor, where the steamer was to remain for three and a half days. With the help of the Sardâr's Oriental Secretary, Mr. Milhem Shakûr, I made the acquaintance of many natives on both sides of the river, and the Sardâr, Maxwell and I examined every collection of antiquities which we heard of in the town. I also made the acquaintance of the Rev. Chauncey Murch, American Missionary at Luxor, and a good business man. From that time to the day of his death he was a most energetic and loyal friend of the Museum and of myself. He was an enthusiastic collector of Egyptian antiquities, and specialized on scarabs, of which he had a first-rate knowledge. His three best collections are now in the British Museum. The houses of the dealers at Luxor were filled with antiquities of all kinds, and their "magazines" contained all the best coffins of the "find" at Akhmîm, and a mass of very important objects from Kûs.

We continued our journey to Aswân on the 11th, and Mr. J. M. Cook made excellent arrangements for us to examine the temples of Edfû, Asnâ, and Kôm Ombo (Ombos), and in due course we arrived at Darâw. Here the crew "dressed" the steamer with many hundreds of the gaudy flags which are so dear to the heart of the

Egyptian antiquities, and has taken the profoundest interest in Egypt, and in the Egyptians, both ancient and modern. The sympathy which he has always shown during his distinguished career in Egypt has endeared him to the natives of all classes, who admired his soldierly abilities, and respected his straightforwardness and just dealing. His departure from Egypt was, in my opinion, a calamity, the results of which cannot yet be told. I am indebted to him, both officially and privately, for many acts of kindness.

Egyptian, and when we started again a large crowd of natives ran along the river bank waving flags, and shouting and beating little drums with appalling vigour. We steamed on quite slowly, accompanied by an awful noise from the bank, and as we neared the town we saw that almost every building in the town was decorated with flags. When we passed the "North End" of Aswân, rifles were fired from the bank, and everyone afloat and ashore shouted and screamed his loudest. All this noise was in honour of (1) the steamer, the largest which had ever been seen at Aswân, and the symbol of many tourists, and therefore of much *bakhshîsh*; (2) Mr. J. M. Cook, owner of the steamer, and "King of Egypt," as the natives called him; (3) the Sirdar of the Egyptian Army. I mention these objects of honour in the order in which they were enumerated to me.

When I arrived in Aswân, I found that the town was occupied by a considerable number of British troops, which were being slowly withdrawn to Cairo and Alexandria. There were camps at Shallâl, opposite Philae, on Jabal¹ Tagûg, behind the town, in the town close to the Nile, and at North End. All these belonged to the force which had marched into Nubia in the autumn of 1885, and which, under Generals Sir F. Stephenson and Sir Francis Grenfell, had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mahdi's troops at Kôshah and Ginnis, on December 30th, 1885. There was no hotel at that time in Aswân, and not even a Greek restaurant, but the serious question of board and lodging for me was solved by Major G. T. Plunkett, R.E.,² who caused me to be elected a member of the Rest Camp Mess, and gave me a mud hut to live in on the river bank within the camp. By a curious coincidence my first visitor in this hut—he arrived even before I had unpacked my bullock-trunks—was the Rev. S. P. Hammond Statham,

¹ Though the *g* is pronounced hard in Egypt, I have transcribed - throughout by *j*.

² Now Lieut.-Colonel G. T. Plunkett, R.E., C.B., Director of Science and Art Institutions, Dublin, 1895-1907.

M.A.,¹ who was up with me at Cambridge, and was then an Army Chaplain. Soon after his departure Mr. Muṣṭafâ Shakîr came to talk about the further excavation of the tombs in the hills across the river. I asked him if he had the keeping of the Sardâr's share of the results of the recent excavations, and went on to tell him that the Sardâr had promised to hand it over to me for the British Museum. In answer he said that it was quite true that a large number of things had been found, but that only a very few of them were really of interest and importance. The latter had somehow disappeared, and he really did not know what had become of them.² As for the rest of the "find," including his own share, everything had been seized by the representative of the Bûlâk Museum, who was stationed in Aswân, and who declared that he had sent everything to Professor Maspero, Director of the Service of Antiquities in Cairo. When, at a later date, I claimed the Sardâr's share from Maspero, he said that nothing from Aswân had ever reached him, and that he heard at the time that every object of any interest which Shakîr had found was given, he did not know by whom, to British officials as *bakhshish*. The conclusion of the matter was that there were no antiquities for me to take over for the British Museum.

The following morning the Sardâr, Major Plunkett and I sailed over to the western bank to arrange a plan for clearing out the tombs that had been partly excavated. We found that the hill contained three layers of tombs. The oldest tombs, those of the VIth dynasty, were in the uppermost layer and had been partly cleared, but the tombs of the XIIth dynasty were practically untouched. This layer of tombs was approached by means of a great stairway hewn out of the solid rock, and it is probable that coffins, or sarcophagi, or both, were dragged up it from the funerary barges on the river

¹ He is the author of the *History of the Castle, Port and Town of Dover*, 1889, and *Dover Charters*, 1902.

² A few years later I saw the beautiful little statue of Heq-âb, whose tomb is in the hill opposite Aswân, in the possession of Sir Edward Malet.

to the ledge which ran before the tombs and served as a path. The stairway was then choked with sand, and its line of direction could only be guessed at. The Sardâr decided to have the stairway cleared at once to provide easy access to the tombs for visitors and workmen, and when that was done to have the VIth dynasty tombs cleared, and also the ledge running to the right and left of them. The amount of work to be done was greater than he expected, for many hundreds of tons of sand had to be shifted. He instructed Major Plunkett to get on with the work without delay, and asked me to prepare a short account of the tombs at the top of the stairway for publication, and that afternoon he left Aswân for Wâdî Halfah on his tour of inspection.

Major Plunkett managed to collect men, and digging tools, and baskets in which to remove the sand, in a few hours, and we began work at daybreak next day. In three days we cleared the stairway, which, I may remark, is the most perfect in Egypt, and in the sides of it at the top, just below the ledge, we found long rectangular chambers containing wooden coffins and mummies of the XXVIth dynasty. The coffins were rotten, and collapsed under the touch, and the mummies could not be removed. The threads of the blue bead-work shrouds with which they had been covered had rotted, and the beads lay in heaps on the bottoms of the coffins. In clearing out the tombs at the top of the stairway we found several skeletons, presumably of modern Egyptians, and many mummies of the Græco-Roman period, or later, and rough mud figures of Anubis and other gods of the dead, and flat bits of worm-eaten wood, which had served as sepulchral stelæ. In a small chamber on the right hand side near the bottom of the stairway we found some hundreds of small, coarse red-ware pots,¹ on each of which was written in the Demotic character the name of some medicinal substance. The discovery of these things proved that the halls of ancient tombs were used as cemeteries in the Græco-Roman period. Whether

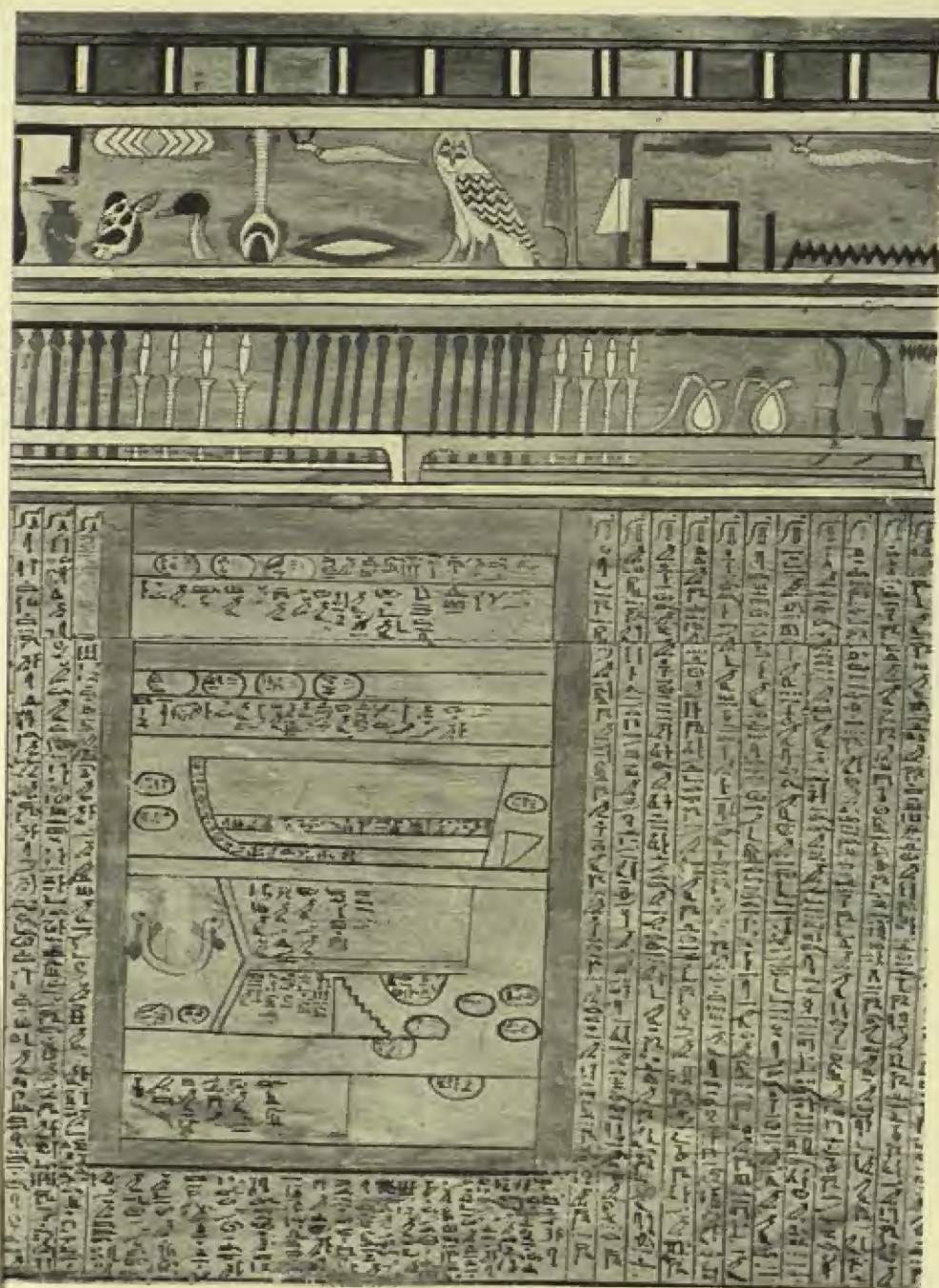
¹ Many of these are in the British Museum.

the sand was carried into them specially for this purpose, or whether it drifted in, is uncertain. When once the site was cleared it was easy to write a description of the tombs of Sabben and Mekhu, and to copy the inscriptions both inside them and on the face of the rock outside. These inscriptions were of importance, for they showed that the nobles of Abu, or Elephantine, were directors of the caravans which traded between Egypt and remote countries in the Southern Sûdân. When the Sardâr returned from the south he approved of the work which had been done, and of the report, and decided to make an appeal¹ to the public for subscriptions, and meanwhile directed us to continue the work.

After the Sardâr's departure we cleared out the tomb of Heq-ab, which we found had already been rifled, and the tomb of Sa-Renput, of the XIIth dynasty, the largest and in every way the best of the tombs of this period at Aswân. Besides these we cleared wholly or in part about eighteen other tombs, and made paths to them for the convenience of the workmen and visitors. The works which we carried out during the next seven weeks were unproductive so far as material results were concerned, and all that I could find to remove were the fragments of the lower half of what must have been a very fine statue of Sa-Renput; these we found at the end of the long corridor of his tomb, in a deep niche like a shrine. We expended a very great deal of labour on the excavation of this tomb. To the right of the corridor, at the end, we found a sloping and curved passage, which I believe led downwards and ended in the mummy chamber under the shrine. We began to dig this out, but found our way barred by many brick walls, which seemed to have been built with special care. We broke through several of these, but the air became so foul that the candles would not burn, and we had to abandon the clearing of that shaft. This tomb was remarkable for another reason. The walls of the large

¹ His appeal and my description of the tombs we had cleared were printed in *The Times*, January 28, 1887, p. 13.

hall, which was entered from the colonnade, were covered with a thin layer of plaster, and on this was painted in bright colours a long inscription of about 160 lines. The hieroglyphs were carefully drawn in black outlines, which were filled in with colours, in a style closely resembling that of the large hieroglyphs on coffins from Al-Barshah. The layer of plaster had become separated from the wall, and had fallen away in places near the ceiling, and the beginnings of some of the lines of the inscription were destroyed. It was most important to obtain a copy of the inscription, for its contents were historical, as I recognized from the few words which were visible. We inserted a length of matchboarding between the sand and the wall horizontally, and then removed the sand to the depth of six inches. We then pushed the piece of wood lower down, and I copied on a paper ruled with lines the tops of the columns of hieroglyphs thus made visible. This done, we cleared away more sand, pushed the wood lower down, and I copied the text which thus became visible. We repeated this process, and at length I copied the whole inscription. This text recorded the names and titles of Sa-Renput, including those which we knew from the inscriptions on other parts of the tomb, and contained a description of five expeditions which he made into the Southern Sûdân after the manner of Sabben and Herkhuf, his predecessors at Aswân, several hundred years earlier. On one side of the doorway leading into the corridor was a list of names of countries and towns in the South, and on the other a list of the objects which he brought back either in the course of trade, or as tributary gifts; of these also I made copies. The meaning of much of the narrative of the expeditions was easy enough to make out, for the sentences were short and simple, and as they were statements of fact there was no ambiguity in it. There were, however, in places many words of the meanings of which I was ignorant, and several signs, the phonetic values of which I did not know; but I had noticed that the words which I did not know occurred in the inscriptions which were cut on the rock by the sides of the doors of three



The Elysian Fields. From the inside of a painted coffin from Al-Barshah.

Brit. Mus., No. 30840.

or four tombs—*e.g.*, Sabben and Pepi-nekht—and some of the signs which puzzled me also. I therefore made paper squeezes of these inscriptions, and adding to them the copy of Sa-Renput's inscription, I sent the whole batch of text to my immediate chief in the Museum, Mr. P. Le Page Renouf, Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. I hoped that he would rejoice at the good fortune which placed such important unpublished texts in his hands, and that he would take the earliest opportunity of publishing them in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, of which he was President. On my return to England I made eager enquiries as to the contents of the paper squeezes and the copy of Sa-Renput's text which I had sent back, and I learned to my sorrow that my chief had taken them home to study, and had never been able to find them again. This is the reason why copies of these most valuable historical inscriptions did not appear in the paper on the Aswân Tombs which I read before the Society of Biblical Archæology in November, 1887.


It would have been impossible for us to do all the work we did at these tombs without the generous assistance of General the Hon. R. H. de Montmorency (who was affectionately known among his friends as "Black Monty") and Colonel Leach, R.E., the Commandant, who placed a mass of railway plant at our disposal, and frequently sent over to us a Corporal of Sappers, who kept the natives at their work. When Major Plunkett was transferred to Malta, Major Hare, R.E., undertook the direction of the excavations in his place. We carried on the works in the hill until the middle of February, 1887, when we were compelled to stop, for the Eleventh Company of Royal Engineers were ordered to leave Aswân for Cairo, and to take their railway plant, tackle, etc., with them. In spite of all our efforts, which we redoubled towards the end of our time, and the great depth to which we penetrated in the shafts of the tombs, we did not succeed in finding the mummies or coffins of the great chiefs of the old frontier town of Abu—*i.e.*, Elephant-City or Elephantine—under the VIth and

XIIth dynasties; but I feel sure that they rest in the hill somewhere, and that it would be worth the while of some archaeologist of experience, who possessed modern implements and tackle, to make a further search for them; and it goes without saying that we left many tombs unexcavated. Some of those who continued our work in the hill were more fortunate than we were. Thus, two months later, Colonel Holled Smith cleared out for the Sardâr a tomb belonging to the second layer of tombs, and found in it a mummy and coffin, several uninscribed pots, two funerary boats, and a square box containing the model of a granary. This last-mentioned object is of considerable interest. It is the model of a granary with seven bins, and each has a sliding door, through which the grain was taken out, and over each door is written in hieratic the description of the grain in the bin. A stairway leads to the roof over the bins, and up this the grain was carried in sacks, and shot into them through holes in the roof. A figure of the keeper of the granary stands by the stairway, and near him is the grain measure. In 1888 the Sardâr decided to present one of the boats¹ and the granary² to the British Museum, and handed both to me in Cairo to pack up and take home.

In December, 1887, I received a letter from Professor Alexander Macalister, of Cambridge, stating that he was then working at the craniology of the ancient Egyptians, and was trying to find out to what race they belonged. Further, he asked me if it would be possible to obtain for him a collection of ancient Egyptian skulls, mummified or otherwise, for examination and measurement. Fortunately for him we had just opened a large deep pit containing the mummies of priests of the third and fourth orders, who ministered in the temple which stood on the Island of Elephantine during the Saïte and Ptolemaïc periods. These mummies were not well made, and the bandages were scanty, and as they were laid in

¹ Formerly exhibited in the Third Egyptian Room (No. 21,805).

² Brit. Mus. No. 21,804. Described and illustrated in the *Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms*, pp. 182, 183.

rows one above the other (there was not a single head-rest or pillow  in the pit), most of the heads were either very loose or actually separated from their bodies. We collected about eight hundred heads, and then closed up the pit. These I brought across the river, a load at a time, and stacked up at one end of my hut until I could get wood to make packing cases; but after they had been there for a week the pile seemed to me to be very much reduced, and I was puzzled to account for it. It was most unlikely that any native would want to steal my skulls, and if they did my hut was in the Rest Camp, and there were sentries at all the gates. The puzzle was soon solved for me, for one night I was awakened by a noise caused by the skulls rolling down on to the ground, and I saw two or more jackals, each with a head hanging to his jaws by the bandages, rushing out of the hut. What nourishment they could obtain out of mummified human heads I could never understand, but so long as there were skulls loose in the hut I saw jackals prowling under the river bank in the evening, watching their opportunity to steal my skulls. It may be mentioned in passing that there was difficulty in getting the boxes of skulls through the Custom House at Alexandria because I truthfully declared what their contents were. There was a law prohibiting the exportation of mummies and human remains, and the official refused to pass the boxes because, he said, "heads of mummies" were human remains. He did not for one moment believe that anyone could want "heads of mummies" for scientific purposes, and he said that the only use for mummies was to turn them into manure. After further conversation he tore up my declaration, and gave me another form, and told me to describe the "heads of mummies" as "bone manure." This I did, and paid export duty of one per cent. on them as manure, and they went out of Egypt without further difficulty. On this occasion, and also on many other occasions in the East when dealing with Customs' officials, I discovered that, after all, there is a good deal in a name.

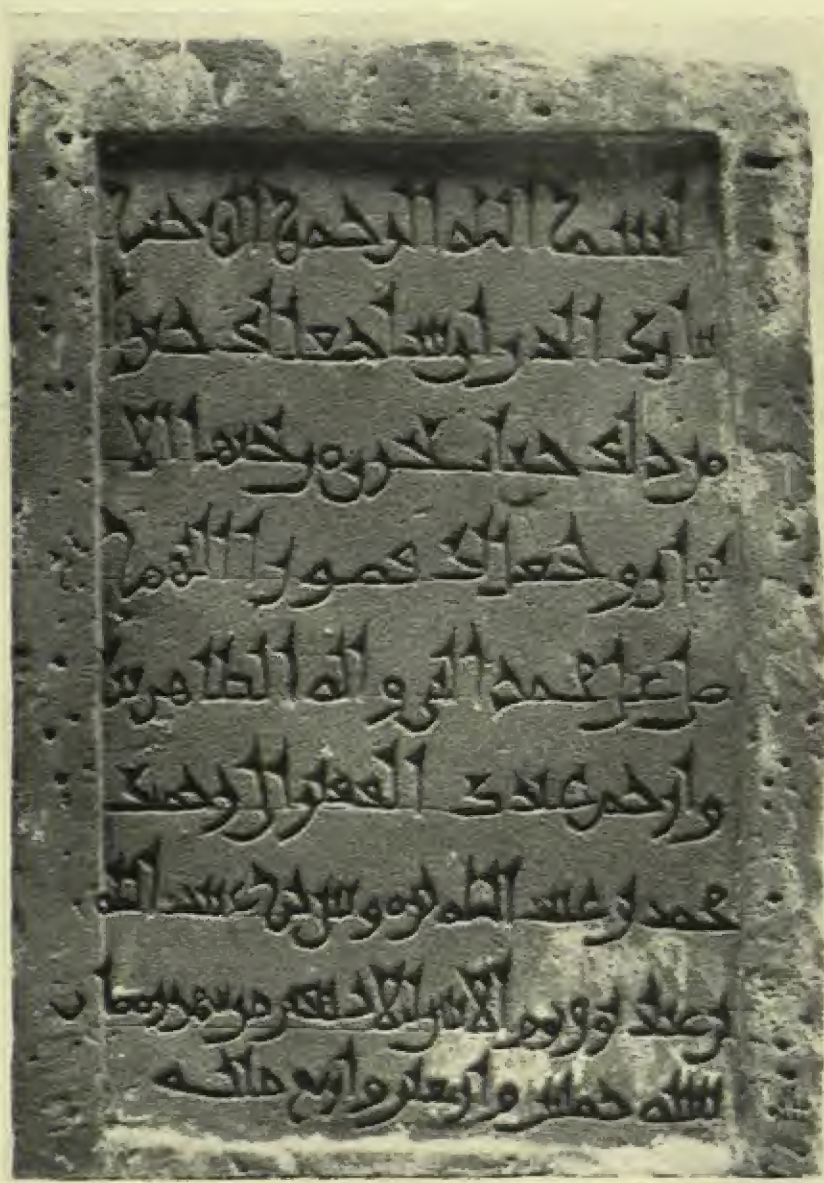
Meanwhile some of the men in Aswân came to realize

that I was in quest of "anticas,"¹ and I began to get the reputation of a collector. The man to whom I chiefly owed this reputation was, I was told, a representative of the Bûlâk Museum of Egyptian Antiquities in Cairo, who had been sent up to watch my doings, and to frustrate the least attempt I might make to "strip Egypt of her monuments." He, it was said, gave the natives to understand that I had an unlimited supply of money from the British Museum, and that my methods were absolutely unscrupulous, if not something worse. He begged them, in their own interest, to have nothing to do with me; but, without in the least intending to be so, he was my best friend, for the natives believed that I really had much money to spend, and as to my being a rogue and a swindler (Shâtar) and a law-breaker, they would rather have dealings with such than with a fool. The result was that natives came to me in boats by night in my hut on the river bank, and offered to sell me statues and stelæ, etc.; and many of their things I was anxious to acquire. I told them I had no money, and then they pressed me to take their things to England and send them the money. Among the objects offered to me for purchase was the central slab of a monument nine feet high, inscribed in Greek with a statement of the benefits which Ptolemy X (Soter II) had conferred upon the priesthood of the Island of Elephantine.² This important stone was being used as a doorstep by its owner. I bought the slab at a very moderate price, but one swallow does not make a summer, and I felt that I must obtain other objects if I would justify my Mission to Egypt.

Whilst I was casting about in my mind how and where to obtain such objects, good fortune, in a somewhat

¹ The Egyptians seem to have taken over the Italian adjective *antica* and turned it into a noun; at all events we have *anṭikā* أنطكا, with the plural *anṭikāt* أنطكات. It is possible that they have confounded *antica* with their own word '*atīkah* عتيقا "ancient," plur. عتيقين. They apply *antica*, or *anṭicāt*, to all kinds of curiosities as well as antiquities, and they have given it an Arabic form.

² See *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries* (Sculpture), p. 261, No. 963.



Gravestone of Muḥammad, son of 'Ubēd Allāh, who died on the 20th day of the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 415 (A.D. 1054).

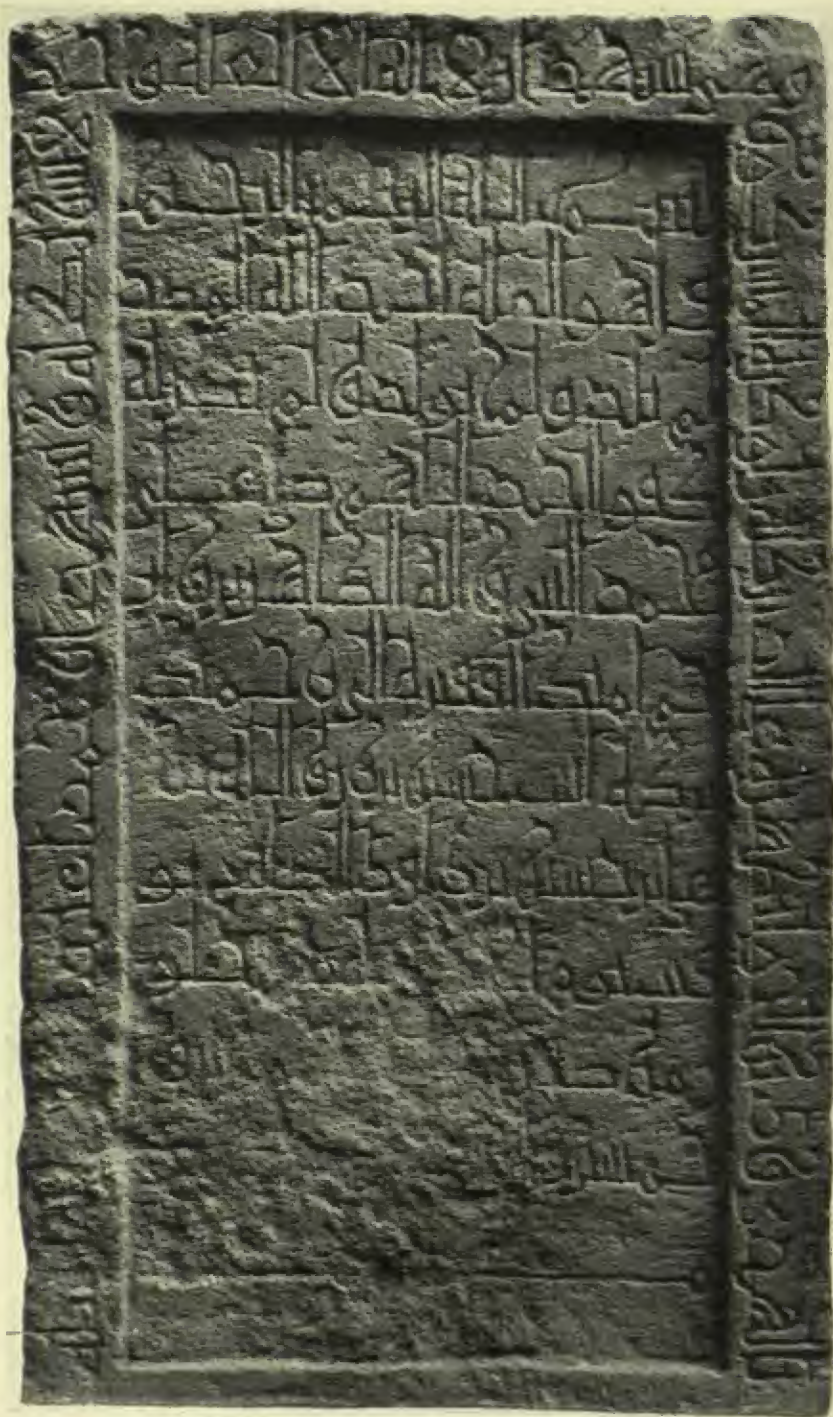
Brit. Mus., No. 697.

strange form, came to my help. One day the sky became covered with dense grey clouds, which I was told were rarely seen in Aswân, and for three days there was no bright sunshine, but only a subdued misty grey light which was very pleasant. In the afternoon rain began to fall, and the natives were happy, but the rain continued to come down, and when evening came it fell in torrents. The natives were in despair, and for the first time I learned what tropical rain was like. The Rest Camp Mess was one of the best houses in the town, and it had two stout roofs, each of which was made of a row of palm trunks, covered with good thick layers of mud; but the rain which collected on the upper roof dissolved the mud between the palm trunks of both roofs, and flowed down on the table whilst we were eating, and made the dinner uneatable. It rained all night, and the camp and the town were flooded; the only house in the town with a roof was that of the P.M.O., who had rigged up tarpaulins over his roof when the rain began to fall. The scene at the back of the town was strange indeed. The tents of the Bishârin were standing in a lake, and pools of water were to be seen in the desert in all directions. On the low hills, close to the town, where the modern inhabitants buried their dead, bare human bodies lay exposed, for the rain had washed away the sand and pebbles which covered them. When we went there the people of the town were reburying their dead, and collecting large stones to lay upon them, for the jackals had already scented out the place, and several bodies showed the marks of their attentions. Over in the old Arab cemetery, which lay near one of the ancient granite quarries in the hills, we found two of the notables of the town lamenting the damage which the rain had done. Some of the tombs here were the oldest known Muḥammadan sepulchres in Upper Egypt, and belonged to the earliest centuries of the Hijrah,¹ when Aswân was an authorized place of

¹ The first Hijrah, or "flight," of Muḥammad the Prophet took place in 615, and the second Hijrah on June 20th, 622, on which year the Arabs base their chronology.

pilgrimage, and was regarded as a holy site. For the dwellers in the remote south the pilgrimage to Aswân was considered as meritorious as a pilgrimage to Mecca (Makkah), and the bodies of the illustrious dead were brought there from all parts of Egypt, and buried there. These tombs were all built of mud, and some had pillars and friezes which suggested that they were copies of Byzantine originals, also made of mud. The graceful little *Kubbas* (i.e., domes or cupolas) were kept well whitewashed, and were striking objects in the grim and strong landscape. At the head of every tomb of an important man was set up a large rectangular tablet of sandstone, on which were cut in Kûfi characters the name of the deceased, a passage from the *Qur'ân*, and the date of his death. As many of these memorial stones dated from the third and fourth centuries of the Hijrah, their importance both historically and palæographically is evident.

When we joined the notables they pointed out the terrible damage to the tombs which the rain had done. It had melted the *Kubbas* and pillars and the mud and plaster decorations, and the mud-brick backings of the inscribed tablets of stone had collapsed, and the tablets were lying in pools of liquid mud. It was out of the question to rebuild the tombs, and the notables said it was impossible to preserve the inscribed tablets in their proper places above the graves, for they would assuredly be stolen and used for building purposes. At that time there were only one or two poor examples of Kûfi tombstones in the British Museum, and I was very anxious to obtain a selection of those which I saw before me. The notables were quite willing for me to have as many as I wanted, provided I took them out of Egypt to a place where they would be preserved and respected, and I selected fourteen of the oldest and best of them without delay. That evening one of the officers and I went out with camels and brought them into the camp, and on the following morning packed them in strong wooden boxes, and stored them in my hut. Thus, through the rainstorm I obtained a welcome addition to my little collection.



Gravestone of Barākah, the daughter of Ḥusēn, who died A.H. 445 (A.D. 1063).

Brit. Mus., No. 690.

There is an interesting sequel to my acquisition of these Kûfi grave-stones. When the representative of the Bûlâk Museum heard of it, he came to me and claimed them for his Museum as by right, and when I refused to surrender them he offered to buy them from me; and when I declined his offer he went, according to rumour, into the town to the Ma'amûr (*i.e.*, Governor), and called upon him to seize the stones, and tried to stir up mischief among the natives. The Ma'amûr told me, when he came to see me soon afterwards, that he was thankful to learn that the British had taken possession of the stones, for he could not have protected them adequately. He then suggested that I should acquire from him six other Kûfi grave-stones which he had in a shed near his house, and as his price was very moderate, I did so. The representative of the Bûlâk Museum reported the action of myself and the Ma'amûr to his chief in Cairo, and received orders from him to take possession of all the Kûfi grave-stones he could find in Aswân, and to despatch them to him in Cairo on the steamer belonging to the Service of Antiquities. The representative collected men, and went out with them to the modern cemeteries of the town, and began removing from the graves the tombstones of men whose descendants were still living! The result was a big row in the town. He paid no heed to the remonstrances made to him, but had the grave-stones carried down to the river, and loaded into the steamer that had been sent up for them. In due course he set out with his load for Cairo, and all went well until the steamer began to take the bend of the river near Kôm Ombo. Then, either through the failure of the steering gear, or through the direct action of the Ra'is (or Captain), the heavy boat, which drew four or five feet of water when unloaded, drove straight on to the great sandbank there, and stuck so firmly that no efforts of her captain and crew could move her. There she stayed the whole summer through, and her crew grew water melons in the sand on each side of her. The natives, of course, asserted that it was the power of the dead shékhs that drove her on to the bank, and that it was their hands which held her there.

Towards the end of the year General de Montmorency found it necessary to send an armoured stern-wheeler on patrol duty from Shallâl to Wâdî Halfah, and he asked me to go in her and examine the temples of Nubia as far as the Second Cataract. I gratefully accepted his offer, for in no other way could I have visited those temples that year. The military commander of the steamer was Colonel Leach, Commandant of Aswân, and fellow passengers with me were Colonel (now Major-General) R. H. Fowler Butler, and Colonel (now Major-General Sir) H. C. Chermside. Colonel Leach stopped the steamer at every important ruin, and gave us ample time to examine everything carefully, and the many remains at Kalâbshah, and the rock-hewn temple of Rameses II at Bêt al-Walî, occupied much time. We stayed a few hours at Korosko, and went up the mountain to the signal station, where we obtained a magnificent view of the deserts on both sides of the Nile, and saw the caravan tracks stretching away into apparently infinite distance. The itinerary of the steamer was carefully planned, with the result that we arrived at Abû Simbel about 2 a.m., and were able to explore the mysterious depths of the great temple of Rameses II by lamplight; in the dim light the Osirid pillars assumed colossal proportions and were awe-inspiring. Colonel Leach then took the stern-wheeler over to the eastern bank, and we were able to watch the effect of the false dawn and sunrise on the faces of the four colossal statues of the king. The effects produced on them by the ever-changing colours of the lights of dawn and sunrise were of superlative beauty, and were to me indescribable.

At Wâdî Halfah we were received by Colonel (now Major-General Sir) C. Holled Smith, who most kindly arranged for us to see all that could be seen there in a short time. The engineers had managed to repair the railway, which in the days of Isma'il Pâshâ reached as far as Sarras, and he took us over about twenty miles of it, and we saw some of the camps which the Dervishes had evacuated. Parts of the railway they had destroyed very thoroughly. With the sleepers they made fires, and

bent the rails into all sorts of shapes ; the fish-plates they made into daggers, and the bolts into spear-heads, many of which were to be seen lying about ; with parts of the telegraph wires they stiffened the shafts of their spears, and all the rest they heaved into the Cataract. Colonel Holled Smith also arranged an excursion by camel to the Rock of Abûsîr, which stands a little to the south of the foot of the Second Cataract. We read on the Rock the names of many travellers who, in their day, were famous for their Egyptian travels, and among them the name of Miss Amelia B. Edwards,¹ who in England always protested loudly against such "vandalism."

Of much more interest to me were the works which Colonel Holled Smith had done in connection with clearing out the temples on the west bank of the Nile. He carried away whole hills of sand from the temples of Thothmes II and Thothmes III, and laid bare their outer courts and walls, which must have been covered up for centuries. In making this clearance he found a door-jamb of

¹ The well-known novelist. In the winter of 1873-4 she made a trip up the Nile with a few friends under very pleasant circumstances. The country and climate and monuments exercised so strong an influence over her that when she returned to England she abandoned her craft of novel-writing, and devoted herself whole-heartedly to the advancement of Egyptology. I saw her often in the Museum, when she came to Birch for help in the historical parts of the narrative of her journey which she was writing. In 1877 she published this narrative under the title of "A Thousand Miles up the Nile," and her book was deservedly an immediate and great success. Her energy, enthusiasm, and zeal brought about the foundation of the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1882, and for some years it owed its success entirely to her tact and work and extraordinary power of organization. Profiting by her acquaintance with Birch, Maspero and Naville, which she cultivated assiduously, she acquired a good knowledge of Egyptian history and archæology. She was large-hearted, kind, and sympathetic, a delightful companion, and a good friend. Birch thoroughly enjoyed her visits, and would sit for an hour at a time listening to her fine descriptions of Nile scenery, and sunrises and sunsets, and the subtle differences of appearance which the monuments exhibit at different times of the day. I never met anyone who had so thoroughly absorbed the mystic and magical influences of Egypt past and present, and who could clothe the impressions which they make upon the mind in such well-fitting and expressive words.

Thothmes III,¹ a part of a stele of the same king dated in the thirty-fifth year of his reign,² a statue of Ka-mesu, a viceroy of the Egyptian Sûdân,³ a stele set up by Seti I in the temple of Thothmes II,⁴ a stele of Setau,⁵ another viceroy, and a stele of Mernetchem,⁶ an inspector of the gold mines in the Sûdân. All these valuable objects he packed up in cases, and handed over to me for the British Museum, and all of them are now exhibited in the Egyptian Galleries. He had explored all the country on the east bank northwards beyond the Island of Faras, and the island itself, and he told me that all that district abounded in ruins of Coptic churches and houses of the Byzantine period. Had he remained in Wâdî Halfah he would certainly have excavated the Island of Faras.

Before I left Aswân for Wâdî Halfah a company of Royal Engineers, under Captain Handcock, R.E., began to clear out some of the buildings on the Island of Philæ, and they repaired many parts of the walls of the so-called "Kiosk." Several of the arches, by reason of the broken stones in them, were in imminent danger of collapsing, and many parts of the cornice had begun to crumble away, and large pieces of stone fell frequently. In the course of clearing the bases of the walls, Captain Handcock found many pieces of sculptured stone, which once formed parts of ancient buildings, and these he set aside for the British Museum. When I returned to Shallâl he had them packed in cases, and handed them over to me, and I stored them with my collection, which was now becoming important. During one of the clearances which we made on the eastern side of the Island of Philæ we unearthed a massive grey granite shrine, about eight feet high, which was lying flat on its right side on a foundation of rough stones. The

¹ Northern Egyptian Gallery, No. 365 (Bay 10).

² Northern Egyptian Gallery, No. 368 (Bay 11).

³ Northern Egyptian Gallery, No. 452 (Bay 7).

⁴ Northern Egyptian Gallery, No. 571 (Bay 8).

⁵ Northern Egyptian Gallery, No. 608 (Bay 17).

⁶ Northern Egyptian Gallery, No. 645 (Central Saloon).



Monolithic shrine which held a figure of the hawk of Horus of Philæ: it was dedicated to the god by Ptolemy IX and his wife Cleopatra.

Brit. Mus., No. 1134.

inscriptions on the front state that the shrine was dedicated to Horus of Philæ by Ptolemy IX and his wife Cleopatra. As there are very few examples of this kind of monument in existence, this "find" was important. I applied without delay to the Director of the Service of Antiquities, asking him for permission to take the shrine to London, and he refused to allow it to leave the country. I then offered to purchase the shrine at a reasonable price, but my offer was rejected, and we were ordered to leave the monument in the hollow in which we found it. I pointed out to the Director the danger of leaving this priceless object unprotected on the Island, but I could not find that he did anything to protect or remove it, and he would not let us have it.

Whilst the Director and I were writing letters to each other about the shrine, I received a telegram from Sir E. Baring, asking if the British Museum would abandon all claim to the colossal statue of Rameses II, lying at Şakḳārah, and take the shrine at Philæ in place of it. I replied that I had no authority to make such an exchange, which would be greatly to our disadvantage, and that in my opinion it ought not to be done. I reminded him that the statue had been given to the British Nation by Muḥammad 'Alī, and that no one, not even the French, had raised any objection to our taking possession of it; on the contrary, Mariette had always been anxious that the statue should be taken to England, where it would be preserved; and I pointed out to him that General Sir Frederick Stephenson had already spent a considerable sum of British money on labour and tackle for raising it up out of the water-hole in which it had been lying for so many years. All this, however, had no effect. The Director of the Service of Antiquities told Sir E. Baring that public opinion in Cairo would be greatly affronted if the British took the statue out of Egypt, and promised him that if he would keep the statue in the country, he would direct his engineers to bring it into Cairo, and to set it up before the new Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, the building of which was under consideration. One moment's thought would

have shown Sir E. Baring how impossible it was for the Director to fulfil his promise, for the Kasr an-Nil bridge would have broken down under the weight of the statue. But Sir E. Baring, for some reason or other, wished to placate the French Colony in Egypt, so he adopted the views of the Director, and it was reported in England that the removal of the statue would be very unpopular in Egypt. The result of the matter was that I was ordered to make arrangements for the transport of the shrine (of which the Director of the Service of Antiquities had no knowledge until I reported that we had found it) from Philæ to London. Thus the British lost the statue, which still lies on the ground at Şak̄k̄arah, where Major Arthur Bagnold, R.E., left it in 1887, a testimony to the value of official promises.

Meanwhile the clearing out of the tombs of the VIth and XIIth dynasties went on regularly, but at an ever-increasing cost, because of the great distance to which we had to carry the sand, and we had nothing but baskets to carry it away in. The tombs yielded nothing of any size or importance, and Major Plunkett and I decided to make a few trial "excavations" in the neighbourhood. Among the places chosen for this purpose was the cemetery of the old Coptic Monastery of St. Simeon, which lay to the south of our tombs, and on the same side of the river. We opened the tombs of many monks, but we found nothing in them except pieces of calcareous stone, on which were cut the names by which the brethren had been known in the monastery during their lifetime. We found in one tomb, that of a bishop, an episcopal staff surmounted by an ornament in the form of the Cross, made of silver, and set in a copper mount. The staff was worm-eaten, and could not be removed, and the silver ornament was completely oxidized, and crumbled away whilst a rubbing of it was being made. The ornament was a combination of the old Egyptian *crux ansata* ☩, and the rising sun on the horizon ☀, and the very ancient amulet-symbols of Osiris ☩ and Isis ☩. In my opinion it represented an attempt to unite the

most sacred symbols of the Egyptian and Christian religions. The bishop probably used it, as the bishops in Abyssinia used their triple and quadruple crosses, to frighten the Devil from him when he appeared, and to drive away evil spirits.

During our work we found that a good many things were stolen from us, especially small objects such as *ushabtiu* figures, and sold to tourists, but we could not catch the thieves. One day a rectangular slab of stone, with a Greek inscription on each side, was stolen from the boat, and we heard that a European in Aswân was systematically employing natives to steal from the boat which brought us from the tombs each evening. It was impossible to let the matter pass unnoticed. The stone was found in the ruins at Kôm Ombo, and was given to me by Major Plunkett for the Museum. The jackals, I knew, were in the habit of stealing Macalister's skulls from my hut, but though they could eat almost anything, I never found that they tried to eat my stone things. I appealed to the Commandant, who said: "Stop the diggings until the stone is brought back; when the diggers find there are no piastres at the end of the day, the stone will re-appear." We stopped the diggings, but the stone did *not* re-appear. The diggers said they were heart-broken because of my want of belief in their words, and they swore strange oaths by their eyes and their beards and their fathers, and said they were famished, but no stone came back. The Ma'amûr, or Governor, was then asked if he could do nothing to help us, and he said that he thought he could, provided that he was allowed to manage the matter in his own way; and we left it to him, and did not resume work in the hill. Some days passed, and the stone was still missing. One morning 'Abdallah, the ganger, brought me an invitation from the Ma'amûr to come and drink a cup of coffee with him under the big tree, the one beautiful object in the town. I went, and found the Ma'amûr and the Kâdî and several notables seated on diwâns, and the Ma'amûr told me that they were going to try a case which would interest me as soon as we had finished

our coffee. The case began. The accused, a man whose face was familiar to me, was brought forward, and an official read out a document in which he was accused of stealing a pig, and further with having sold the same to a neighbour. The accused denied the charge, and when the Kâdî had commented on the moral iniquity of a man who could not only steal a defiled and defiling animal, but sell it to a neighbour, whereby he made him a partner in his own uncleanness, witnesses were called. One witness swore that he had seen the accused dragging the pig away by a rope. Another swore that he had seen him selling the pig to a man who had taken it to Darâw, and a third swore that the accused had just paid him a debt of 100 piastres which he had owed him for a long time, and could never have paid unless he had received money for the pig. Other witnesses followed, and their evidence was so circumstantial that I felt I was watching a trial in India, so complete was their testimony. Nothing that the accused could say was of avail, and he was condemned to be beaten on the soles of the feet. He was quickly thrown upon the ground, and the beating began; but as I was disgusted with the sight, I got up and left the assembly, wondering greatly why I had been invited.

Early next morning 'Abdallah the ganger appeared with his face wreathed in smiles, and with him came two men carrying the stone which had been stolen! I asked him many questions, which he refused to answer, but he told me that the Ma'amûr, who was "like God" for his wisdom, was on his way to see me, and that he would explain everything to me. The Ma'amûr arrived in a very happy frame of mind, and was much pleased with himself because he had managed to get the stone back, and he told me that the man who had been accused of stealing a pig was the thief. Said I, "How did you find this out? Did you know that he had stolen the pig, and therefore suspected that he had stolen the stone?" He said, "No. He is a very, very bad man, and a friend of all the bad men in Aswân. I did as I always do in such cases. I invented the charge against him. In this case I accused him of stealing a pig, and

my wife's brothers always help me in such cases by becoming witnesses, and saying what I tell them to say. When the accused swore that he had stolen no pig he told the truth, for there is no pig in Aswân. But just after you left us, when his feet were beginning to cause him great pain, he confessed that he knew where the stone was, and we therefore suspended the beating of his feet until we could send and verify his statement. When we found that he had told the truth, and we had the stone in our hands, I remitted the remaining stripes, and ordered him to be kept in prison for three months. In truth he ought to be made to pay to each of the workmen five piastres for each day's work lost. But all the English are foolishly compassionate, and I beg your honour now to ask the *Kâdî* to forgive that wicked man the three months' imprisonment which he ought to serve; and further, I ask your honour to buy another stone from me, so that I may be enabled to give my servants a little *bakhshîsh* in return for all the trouble which they have taken for you. For my own work in the matter I ask nothing except the blessing of Allah, and that the English may be pleased to confirm me in my *wazîfah* (office, or appointment). But I am sick in my inside, and no medicine has ever done me so much good as that green syrup (in truth it is of the sap of the Lote Tree in Paradise), which your honour's friends gave me to drink on the day when the Italian Prince was here."

Of course, the Ma'amûr's conduct, viewed in the abstract, was disgraceful, but in this particular case I felt that the end certainly did justify the means. Moreover, all the officials of his class, who were expected by the British to keep law and order in their districts, acted as he acted. On the whole, it seems to me from what I have seen in the East, that in the *Kâdî's Court*, where cases are dealt with summarily, the decisions are based upon common sense, and justice is done substantially. In the case quoted above the Ma'amûr knew that the man he accused was a bad man, and his suspicion that he was implicated in stealing the stone was correct. As for the few stripes that were laid on him, he deserved them and

more; and no one suffered in any way, for even the accused received a useful gift from me, and I made an arrangement with the workmen whereby they were able to make up the time lost, and to receive pay for the same. I was most grateful to the Ma'amûr for recovering the stone, and he left me with a beaming face, clasp ing under his *stambûli* coat a large bottle of "green medicine" (*i.e.*, green Chartreuse, from the Mess). He had tasted this liqueur at a reception given by General de Montmorency a few weeks previously in honour of H.R.H. the Prince of Naples, who was visiting Upper Egypt, and he had not forgotten it. The Ma'amûr was a very able man, and a most capable official, and when the British arrived in Aswân on the abortive expedition for the relief of Gordon, he rendered Sir Garnet Wolseley great assistance. He was recommended for special commendation, and for a gift which should be a sign visible to all men of the appreciation in which he was held by the British War Lords in Cairo (*i.e.*, a gold watch and chain). The authorities in Cairo sent him up a handsome gold watch in a gorgeous silk-lined case, but there was no chain with it, and public opinion in Aswân considered the Ma'amûr was justified in telegraphing to Sir E. Baring, "Your Excellency has forgotten gold chain, please send."

By the end of January we found that we were coming near the end of any work which we could hope to finish before the British soldiers moved on to Cairo, and we decided to close down on February 15th. Apart from that of expenses, there was also another good reason for stopping work: we were crowded out with visitors. The tourists came in the early morning, bringing their lunch with them from the steamers, and stayed there the whole day. The men wandered about everywhere, and the women dug in the sand for beads. Natives came over in the evening, and stayed the night there, and made themselves a nuisance. In January Dr. H. Schliemann, the distinguished archæologist and excavator, visited Aswân in one of the old dhahabîyahs, which were so roomy and comfortable. As soon as he arrived his

secretary, or companion, landed and sent some of the crew to announce to the native officials that his great master had arrived, but with what object he did this no one understood. The British military authorities had not been instructed from Cairo to give Dr. Schliemann a public reception, and they did nothing. Mr. Henry Wallis, the artist, who very kindly made for me many drawings of the Aswân tombs, was very anxious that some one should show civility to Dr. Schliemann, and offer to act as guide for him over the tombs. Therefore he, Major Plunkett, and I were rowed over to the dhahabiyah, and announced ourselves. The butler received us civilly, and led us into the large reception room in the stern of the vessel, and after the usual salutations and coffee and cigarettes, Major Plunkett acted as spokesman, and said that we had called to offer him our boat and crew if he wished to go over to the tombs, and that we were ready to accompany him at any time, and show him what we had done. Dr. Schliemann replied very stiffly, "It is very kind of you to be so amiable. I should like to place my archæological science at your disposal by showing and explaining to you the tombs, but I have not the time as I am going up to Halfah." He then reached out one hand, and lifted up a paper-bound copy of the Greek text of Homer's "Iliad," in the Teubner Series, which he was holding in his hand when we entered (it was then lying face downwards on the cushion), and went on with his reading. Major Plunkett, lighting another cigarette, asked in a sweetly soft voice if we had his permission to withdraw, and we did so with as much dignity as was possible under the circumstances.

Among the residents in Aswân who took great interest in the tombs was a man who has since that time become notorious, I mean Charles Neufeld. He kept a little shop in the southern end of the town, and did a certain amount of trade with the natives in gum, ostrich feathers, whips made of hippopotamus hide, etc. The military authorities were puzzled as to the sources of his supply of feathers, and at length it was discovered by them

that he obtained his goods direct from friends and sympathizers with the Khalifah 'Abdallah, and that he gave in exchange for them saltpetre, copper for making caps for rifles, and materials for making ammunition. When this fact was discovered the British closed his shop, and kept him under supervision, but he managed to make his escape to Wâdî Ḥalfah in January. There he found the slaves of Šâlah Bey, a great enemy of the Khalifah, who had come to appeal to the Egyptian Government for help. The British gave them two hundred rifles, forty boxes of ammunition, and £200 in money. When they set out to return to Kordofân, Neufeld somehow managed to attach himself to them, saying that he wished to re-open trade in Sûdânî products with their country. When they arrived at the Oasis of Salimah, on the Arba'in Road,¹ they found the wells occupied by Wâd an-Najûmî's men, who promptly shot most of them and made prisoners of the others, Neufeld being among them. All the prisoners were taken to Dongola, and all were beheaded except Neufeld, who was sent on to Omdurmân (Umm-Durmân), where he arrived on March 7th, 1887, and where for nearly twelve years he worked in the Khalifah's powder manufactory. He was released by Kitchener on September 1st, 1898.

We stopped the work of clearing the tombs about the middle of February, as arranged, and we left the site in such a state that work could be resumed on it at any moment. We had cleared out nearly two dozen tombs, and made paths to them, and a good road to the river from Sa-Renput's tomb. For some weeks I had been receiving letters from natives and Europeans, telling me that many important things had been recovered from the tombs at Thebes, and that they were waiting for my coming. Early in February, General de Montmorency took over all the antiquities which I had gathered together, and which various officers had committed to my charge for the British Museum, and when they were packed in

¹ *I.e.*, the "Forty Road," because the journey from Asyût in Egypt to Dâr Fûr occupied forty days.

cases he sent them down to Alexandria in a Government barge for shipment to England. The value of this unasked for and unexpected assistance was very great, and it made the obstruction of the official of the Bûlâk Museum of no effect. On my way down the river I went to Kôm Ombo and Asnâ (or Esneh), and at each place I added to my collection. The objects which had been found at Edfû and Armant had been sent to Luxor to await my arrival.

When I arrived in Luxor I found that the dealers had indeed collected many valuable things from the tombs at Western Thebes, and that the prices were, when compared with prices in England, very moderate. Antiquities were plentiful, but money was not. I had reported to the Principal Librarian and to my immediate chief in the Museum on the principal objects which had been offered to me for purchase on my way up the river, and had received instructions to secure them at reasonable prices ; but I had been so much troubled in Aswân by the official from Bûlâk, who protested against every acquisition which I had made there, that I determined to find out what views were held by the natives about the regulations for dealing in antiquities which had been promulgated by the Service of Antiquities. The facts which I elicited from them were as follows : The Egyptian Government, they said, claimed as of right every object of antiquity in Egypt, whether above or below ground ; and it was unlawful for any native to possess or to deal in antiquities. The natives treated the Government's claim to all antiquities in Egypt with contempt, for the simple reason that it could not be enforced, and no Government in Egypt had ever tried to enforce it. And no Government could prevent the natives possessing antiquities or dealing in them. Many natives in all parts of Egypt dealt openly in antiquities, and Mariette and his successor, Maspero, bought from them antiquities for the Bûlâk Museum, and paid for them with Government money. Some natives had been astute enough to get themselves made Consuls or Agents for European Powers, and they excavated tombs, and bought and sold their contents

without let or hindrance; and it was reported that some of these Consular Agents had expelled from their premises certain officials of the Service of Antiquities who attempted to control their business, and thus they were able to make the law as to the possession of and dealing in antiquities a dead letter.

In 1887 the Service of Antiquities promulgated a rule which, on the face of it, was absurd. It ordered every native who was in possession of an antiquity to bring it to Cairo, and to submit it to the authorities at the Museum, so that they might decide whether its acquisition for the National Collection was desirable or not; and it went on to say that if the authorities decided to acquire any object they would make a valuation of it, and give the possessor one half of the sum at which it was valued, *as an act of grace!* The natives were to understand clearly that the money thus given by the authorities must not be regarded as payment for any antiquity which the authorities might decide to keep, for every object of antiquity in Egypt was the property of the Government absolutely, but as payment for expenses incurred in bringing it to Cairo. The dealers were greatly exasperated by this new rule, and even a newcomer in the country like myself could see that it would not work. They pointed out that they had never had any difficulty with Mariette Pâshâ or Maspero, and that when either of these Directors of Antiquities wished to take an object for the Egyptian Museum they always acted fairly in the matter, and sometimes even generously; and I heard from the dealers stories of how the new rule was worked in Cairo. According to one of them, he and his friends obtained a genuine and valuable sepulchral statue from a tomb, and sent one of their "company" with it to Cairo, and told him to offer it for purchase to the Museum authorities. The statue was believed by them to be worth £100 in the open market, and before they sent it to the Museum they took the precaution of showing it to two or three European savants, who pronounced it genuine. When the statue was offered to the official in the Museum he declared it to be a forgery, but offered

to buy it from the dealer as a good specimen of a modern imitation; as such it was worth, he said, £E12, and the sum due to the dealer was therefore £E6. The dealer protested, but in vain, and he was, according to his story, forced to take the £E6 and leave the office. A rumour was current subsequently that the statue had been sold by the Museum to an American traveller for a considerable sum of money. The natives believed that the officials of the Museum made collections of Egyptian antiquities, which they sold to American and European travellers, and so exploited sources of supply which should have been reserved for the National Collection. Whether these statements were literally true or not I could not then tell, but the experience of later years has convinced me that on the whole the natives had just cause of complaint.

I found in the house of Muṣṭafâ Aghâ, the British Consul at Luxor, many important objects, and he helped me in many ways. He was devoted to the British, and wanted to make the British Museum the "best in all the world." He sent across the river and brought over to his house many of the natives who had been associated with the Dêr al-Baḥarî "cache," and they gave me much useful information. I went over with them to Western Thebes, and stayed with them in their houses, and they took me to the house of the kinsmen of 'Abd ar-Rasûl, who were the first to discover the hidden treasures of Dêr al-Baḥarî. They had still in their possession, though buried in carefully hidden pits, a large collection of rolls of hieroglyphic, hieratic, and other papyri, alabaster vessels bearing the names of the people in whose tombs they were placed, several of the beautiful blue glazed vases of Queen Nesi-Khensu, ivory objects, etc. The 'Abd ar-Rasûl family hated the authorities with a bitter hatred, and one after another of them told me the story of how the confession of their uncles at Ḳanâ, as to the situation of the Dêr al-Baḥarî "cache," had been wrung from them by torture. All the men of the family, young and old, were dragged to Ḳanâ in 1880, and tied to posts and well beaten, but they refused to

give the information which the authorities wanted. Maspero, Director of the Service of Antiquities, was, they said, present at the "examination" of these men. The men were then thrown down on the ground, and the soles of their feet beaten with palm rods, and as they still refused to confess they were tied to seats, and heated iron pots were placed on their heads. One of the two brothers, 'Abd ar-Rasûl, died under this torture, and the other, when I saw him, still bore the scars of the burns which he received from the heated pots on his forehead, face, and neck. I give this story from the notes which I made at the time, and Muşţafâ Aghâ, 'Alî Kamûrî, Idrîs, and other natives, assured me that I had not been told one half of the tortures which the Mudîr of Kânâ inflicted on the 'Abd ar-Rasûl family. This man was of Sûdânî origin, and was actively concerned in many of the atrocities which the Khedive Isma'îl perpetrated in the Sûdân, and it is said that in order to make the brothers confess he employed tortures indescribable, which even in Central Africa are held to be outrageous.

Apart from their personal hatred of the authorities, they detested the officials of the Service of Antiquities, for they were convinced that their one object was to get hold of their antiquities, not to preserve in the Museum in Cairo, but to sell on their own behalf. They were all most anxious to do business with the British Museum, but they were ready to deal with *anyone* who was not a servant of the Egyptian Government. It must not be imagined that they valued the antiquities of their country from an intellectual point of view, or that they wanted them to go to a place where they knew they would be carefully preserved: they certainly did not in 1887, and I doubt if they do so even now. They were, and still are, fully aware of the value of antiquities from a pecuniary point of view, or as commercial assets; but the true Muslim regards them as accursed things, and as the works of "unbelievers," who, because of their sins and wickednesses, were overthrown by God; and the man who digs them up is not always held to be free from sin.



Semicircular ivory object on which are cut figures of the two-headed lion-god, crocodiles, serpents, a beetle, a frog, the giraffe-necked leopard, the hippopotamus goddess Taurt (Thoueris), etc. It was made for the lady Seneb.
Brit. Mus., No. 18173.

Among the objects I secured at Luxor were a gilded bronze figure of Set (Typhon), the god of Evil,¹ the first figure of the god ever found, and a circular ivory object, which was made for Seneb, a lady who flourished under the XVIIIth dynasty. On the latter were cut in outline figures of the double lion-headed Earth-god, Aker, and of many Typhonic deities and animals, and fabulous monsters—*e.g.*, the winged, hawk-headed leopard, with a human head growing out of his back. This object is a kind of amulet, and was the first of its kind acquired by the British Museum.² During the last few days of my stay at Luxor the natives of Kûş discovered a rich tomb of the Roman period, and the principal contents were shown to me as a possible buyer on the evening of my departure—in fact, just as the steamer was about to leave. These included: (1) a very remarkable waxen book, with seven tablets and covers, and with inscriptions in, to me at least, an unknown character; (2) a wooden board, painted white, and inscribed on both sides with thirteen lines from the "Iliad" (iii, 272-285); (3) a large handsomely written Demotic papyrus, with Greek dockets, and several smaller Demotic papyri. The waxen book was found immediately under the bandages of the stomach of the mummy, and the inscribed wooden board and the papyri lay in a box by his side. All these objects were obviously important, and I was anxious to secure them; but to bargain for them then was impossible, as it was necessary for me to be in Cairo by a certain date. The owner solved the difficulty by making me take them with me, saying, "Send me the money from England when you like."

When I arrived in Cairo I found awaiting me the cases which General de Montmorency had despatched from Aswân to Kaşr an-Nîl. I added to them the cases containing my recent acquisitions, which included a group of good Egyptian stelæ from Akhmîm, and the military

¹ Brit. Mus., No. 18,191.

² For a drawing in black and white see *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. x, p. 570.

authorities sent them all down to Alexandria, viâ the Maḥmûdiyyah Canal. A day or two before I left Cairo I received an intimation through the Sardâr, whose gracious hospitality I was then enjoying, that Sir E. Baring disapproved of my operations in Egypt, and wished them to cease. In the interview which I had with him on the subject, he told me that he strongly objected to the exportation of antiquities from Egypt, whether to the British Museum or to any other place, and he ordered me not only to cease buying from native dealers, but to return to them everything which I had already acquired from them. I respectfully pointed out to him that I had been sent to Egypt at public expense to dig out tombs for the Sardâr, and in return the Trustees expected me to take back to the British Museum the share of the results to which the Sardâr was entitled, and which he was prepared to give them; that unfortunately the tombs of the Ancient and Middle Empires which I had cleared out for the Sardâr contained nothing that he could give to the Trustees in return for my services; that not wishing to return to England empty-handed I had, according to general instructions received, taken the opportunity of purchasing a number of objects which we needed in London to fill up gaps in the National Collection;¹ that I had also, with the consent of the Trustees, purchased a small collection of Egyptian antiquities for Cambridge University; and that all these, together with the antiquities which had been handed over to me by the British military authorities up the river, had already been despatched. Without heeding these remarks, Sir E. Baring then went on to say that he had heard only the day before that I had taken from a dealer a most valuable object. According to what his informant told him this object was a most precious thing, nothing less than a book formed of waxed wooden tablets, inscribed in Greek shorthand. He warmly protested against Egypt being "stripped" of such a valuable object, and ordered me

¹ The collection that I acquired for the British Museum in 1886-87 contained 1,482 objects.



Wooden tablets of the waxen book inscribed with documents written with the stylus in tachygraphic symbols, and a few memoranda in Greek.
Brit. Mus., Add. MS., No. 33270.

to abandon the tablets, and to send them back to the man from whom I bought them. In reply I pointed out to him that every Great Power (and many Little Powers) in Europe already had an agent in the country buying for its Central Museum, and that Great Britain had at least an equal right to have an agent collecting antiquities for it. Sir E. Baring's answer took the form of a peremptory order to me to return the waxed tablets to the dealer, and I felt obliged to remind him that I was not a member of his staff, and that I intended to carry out the instructions of the Trustees, and to do my utmost to increase the collections in the British Museum. Here the interview ended abruptly.¹

The remainder of my time in Cairo I spent in the Bûlâk Museum, and made myself acquainted with the very fine collections of monuments of the Ancient Empire exhibited there. When once I knew the positions of the exhibits I found Maspero's "Guide" an excellent and instructive work. I made in the Museum the acquaintance of a native official, who, knowing the object of my visit to Egypt, introduced me to several dealers, and I went with him to Gîzah, Rôdah, Fustât (Old Cairo), and other places where they lived, and examined their collections. They had many valuable objects which I wished to acquire, and were ready to hand them over to me to take to London, but it was impossible, for many reasons, to open negotiations with

¹ The following is the official description of the subject of this conversation:—"Add. 33,270.—A waxen book,¹ consisting of seven wooden tablets, coated with black wax on both sides, and two covers, waxed on the inner sides. Inscribed with documents written with the stylus in tachygraphic symbols, with similar symbols written repeatedly, as if for practice; and with a few memoranda in Greek, being a list of names and notes concerning works and the carriage of bran or chaff (*ἀχρῆ*) by water. In one of the covers a groove is hollowed for the reception of the writing implements. The leather thong with which the book was bound round and fragments of the leather laces which formed the hinges remain. Third century (?). 8½ by 6½ in." (*Catalogue of Additions to the MSS. in the British Museum in the Years 1882-1887*, London, 1889, p. 285.)

them that season. The last purchase I made in Cairo was the beautiful little green basalt statue of a king of the XIIIth dynasty,¹ which was believed by its owner, a high Egyptian official, to have come from Dongola.

On the last day of February I left Cairo for Alexandria, where I enjoyed the hospitality of General de Montmorency, who had just left Aswân, and had taken over command at Alexandria. Attached to his staff was a very capable Maltese, called Magro, who could read, write, and talk every language used in Alexandria, and who acted as his Oriental Secretary and interpreter. Unlike most "polyglot secretaries," he was a well-read man, and he knew the history of the city, both ancient and modern, exceedingly well. Under his guidance General de Montmorency and I explored the town and the catacombs, and visited several good collections of Alexandrian antiquities in the hands of private collectors. In this way I learned to know the general characteristics of late Ptolemaic and Roman sculpture, and sepulchral buildings, and the main features of funerary archæology of the late period. My enjoyment of my visit to Alexandria was marred by the attempts made by the Service of Antiquities to prevent the export of my cases, and the British Consul-General's letters on the subject. But General de Montmorency declined to be moved either by wishes or threats, and one day he and I stood on the quay and watched my twenty-four cases leave the harbour under the care of a friendly officer from Aswân. Two days later I left Alexandria in a small merchant steamer, which called at Malta, several ports on the north coast of Africa, Valencia, Gibraltar, Lisbon, etc., and after a very rough passage in the Bay of Biscay I arrived in Liverpool in the last week in March. On April 2nd my immediate chief, the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, submitted to the Trustees a report on my Mission. The Principal

¹ Brit. Mus., No. 18,193; it is figured in *Guide to the Egyptian Collections*, p. 112.

Librarian and Secretary was authorized to "convey to Mr. Budge the Trustees' approval of his successful conduct of the Mission to Egypt," and he did so in the following letter :

BRITISH MUSEUM,

April 2nd, 1887.

DEAR MR. BUDGE,

It gives me great pleasure to have to report to you that on the statement of your purchases and proceedings in Egypt, the Trustees this morning passed a Minute expressing their warm approval of your intelligence and energy in carrying out the purpose of the Mission entrusted to you, and undertaken by you at so short notice.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) EDW. A. BOND.

SECOND MISSION—EGYPT,
BAGHDÂD AND BABYLON,
1887-88.

SECOND MISSION.

EGYPT, BAGHDÂD AND BABYLON, 1887-88.

WHEN I returned to my duties in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, I found that the Principal Librarian, and the Keeper of the Department, and Rawlinson, as a Trustee of the British Museum, were engaged in discussing certain reports concerning the Trustees' excavations in Assyria and Babylonia. A few years after the death of George Smith (1876) the Trustees succeeded in obtaining a renewal of their old *faramân*, or permit, to excavate at Nineveh, and a new permit which authorized them to excavate certain sites in Babylonia under extremely strict conditions. The Trustees sent out Mr. H. Rassam to excavate on their behalf, and in addition to reopening the old sites at Nineveh (Kuyûnjik and Nabî Yûnis) he attacked new sites near Van (Wân), and began to work at several mounds in Babylonia, between Baghdâd and Hillah. His excavations on the mounds of Abû Habbah were on an extensive scale. When he abandoned his work in Assyria and Babylonia he appointed native watchmen to protect the sites until he returned with a renewed permit to continue the excavations; he undertook that the salaries of these men were to be paid monthly, and arranged with them to report to him any attempt to dig that might be made by persons unauthorized there. In 1886 and 1887 reports were received by the British Museum in which the native watchmen of the Trustees' sites in Assyria and Babylonia were accused of laxity in the discharge of their duties, and of dishonesty; in other words, they were accused of letting unauthorized people dig in the Trustees' sites, and of sharing with them the proceeds of the sale of the things found.

In the winter of 1886-87 Professor W. Wright, of Cambridge, received letters from Dr. Sachau, the eminent

Orientalist, who had himself travelled in Assyria, in which he stated that a party of German savants, all friends of his, had just returned from a tour in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, and had visited Nineveh and Baghdâd. These savants, he went on to say, had purchased a good collection of Assyrian antiquities from the watchmen at Nineveh, who were in the pay of the British Museum, and three hundred fine Babylonian "case-tablets" from the watchmen at Abû Habbah, and all these valuable things were then in the Berlin Museum. This report was communicated to Mr. H. Rassam, who appointed the watchmen, and, having made inquiries in the East, he informed the Trustees that it was quite true that the German travellers had purchased antiquities at Nineveh, but that they had bought them from the Trustees' watchmen was untrue, for they had bought them from the natives at Nabi Yûnis, where the Trustees had never been allowed to excavate, and where, in consequence, they had no watchmen. It was also true that the German travellers had bought Babylonian tablets on their road to Babylon, but it was untrue to say they had bought them from the Trustees' watchmen. The Trustees must know that others than the British had obtained permits to make excavations, and that the natives everywhere were engaged in clandestine diggings, which it was impossible to control. Rawlinson and the Principal Librarian were much disturbed by the admissions in this report, which seemed to them to indicate that the watchmen were useless, and that the Trustees were not only wasting their grant in paying salaries to these men, but were also losing the tablets from their sites of excavation.

Further information in connection with the abstraction of tablets from the Trustees' sites was supplied to Rawlinson by Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen, sometime Assistant to Birch in the Department of Oriental Antiquities. This expert in cuneiform was well known for his work on the Egibi tablets in the British Museum, and for many years after he left the service of the Trustees he continued his labours on the commercial tablets,

loans, contracts, leases, etc., of the Babylonians. In 1887 he reported to Rawlinson that the Berlin Museum had recently acquired collections of Babylonian tablets which had passed through his hands, and that among them were many that could only have come from the sites which had been excavated, in whole or in part, by the Trustees' agent, Mr. H. Rassam. He based his opinion on the dating and contents of the tablets in Berlin to which he referred, on the similarity of the names of the contracting parties and witnesses that occurred on them, and on the fact that some of the tablets in Berlin were documents belonging to series of deeds drawn up in connection with ancient Babylonian lawsuits, and of which the complementary deeds were in the British Museum. He argued that the documents belonging to these lawsuits which were in the British Museum were obtained from sites excavated by the Trustees' agent, and therefore the complementary deeds then in Berlin must have come from the Trustees' sites also.

Mr. Boscawen explained clearly how he had obtained his knowledge of the contents of the tablets acquired by the Berlin Museum. When he was an Assistant in the British Museum he became acquainted with most of the antiquity dealers in London, and those who dealt with the British Museum he knew very well. When the dealers began to receive consignments of tablets from their clients in the Persian Gulf and Baghdâd, they went to him for information about their consignments and paid him a commission. When the British Museum refused to buy a collection of tablets, a London dealer offered it in turn to the Museums of Paris, Berlin, and New York, but the authorities of these Museums declined to consider the purchase unless a catalogue of the tablets in the collection was submitted with it. Dealers then paid Mr. Boscawen to make catalogues for them, and as museums in those days gave very high prices for objects of unusual interest, he examined tablets submitted to him for cataloguing purposes with considerable care, and made copious notes of their contents. Moreover, much

of the English correspondence between the dealers in London and their clients in Baghdâd passed through his hands, and thus he learned the names of the natives of Baghdâd who exported the tablets to London. He said also that he felt sure that some of these exporters were still employed by the Trustees as guardians of their sites, and were drawing salaries from the Museum for their services; and it was evident that the native overseers had not despatched to the British Museum all the tablets which had been found during the period of the Trustees' excavations; and the large collections of tablets which were reaching London yearly proved that someone was in possession of tablets from these excavations, and that someone was actively engaged in carrying on excavations without regard to the Trustees' rights. Further, Mr. Boscawen quoted published official accounts which showed that in less than five years more than £3,000 of public money had been spent in purchasing tablets sent from Baghdâd, which he himself had examined, and he estimated that a similar sum would be needed to acquire the collections which were then awaiting purchase in this country.

Rawlinson, having satisfied himself that Mr. Boscawen's information was correct, discussed the matter with the Principal Librarian and the Keeper of the Department, and they came to the conclusion that the leakage of tablets must be stopped, but how exactly this was to be done was not so clear. A suggestion came from one quarter that the Trustees should buy up every collection of tablets in the market, but their grant for the purchase of antiquities did not permit of this, and such action would have encouraged further exportation of tablets from Baghdâd. From another quarter came the suggestion that a renewal of the Trustees' permit to excavate should be obtained, but then the question arose, Which site is to be excavated? The sites in Assyria and Babylonia on which excavations had been made for the Trustees were many, but not one of them had been completely excavated. No British excavator had yet laid bare the ruins of the buildings

of any Assyrian or Babylonian town. The sole object of each explorer seems to have been the acquisition of spoil in the form of colossal lions and bulls, obelisks, bas-reliefs, stelæ, etc.; and each explorer sank shafts and drove tunnels in dozens of places in a large mound with the hope that luck would give him what he was too impatient to work for systematically. Thus the excavation of the great mound of Kuyûnjik, which marks the site of Nineveh, was unfinished, although it was well known that thousands of fragments of tablets were lying among the ruins of the palaces of the last Assyrian kings, and the excavation of the important ruins of Nimrûd (Calah) and of Ka'at Sharkât¹ (the city of Asshur) was unfinished. In Babylonia matters were even worse, for all the mounds of Niffar, Birs-i-Nimrûd, Bâbil, Tall Ibrâhîm, Abû Habbah, etc., had been little more than "scratched."

In the summer of 1887 the Trustees decided to apply to the Porte through the British Ambassador at Constantinople for a renewal of the *faramân*, or permit, to reopen the excavations at Kuyûnjik. This decision was arrived at in connection with their resolve to print a catalogue of the cuneiform tablets in the Kuyûnjik Collection, of which students were in urgent need. It was not an easy matter to obtain a renewal of the *faramân*, for the Porte had authorized the establishment of an Imperial Ottoman Museum of Antiquities in Constantinople, and the distinguished artist, Ö. Hamdî Bey, had already been named Director of it. The Porte also determined to carry out the excavation of important ancient sites, and prohibited the export of antiquities absolutely.

The Trustees took steps to give effect to their decision concerning Kuyûnjik, and then considered what means were to be taken to prevent the leakage of tablets from the sites in Babylonia which they had already partly excavated. As a result of their deliberations, the

¹ Spelling doubtful; some think the correct form of the name is "Ka'at Sharghât."

Principal Librarian proposed to me to go to Baghdâd during the coming winter to make inquiries on the spot concerning the leakage of tablets, and I asked for time to consider the matter. In an interview which I had with Rawlinson soon after this proposal was made, he told me that as I had been trained to become an Assyriologist he thought it was my duty to undertake the work. His words decided the matter, and with a good deal of misgiving I accepted the Mission.

The work of arranging the details of this Mission was committed to Rawlinson, whose knowledge of the countries of Assyria and Babylonia, both in ancient and modern times, was unrivalled. He invited me to his house from time to time, and went over his own private maps with me, and he allowed me to make extracts from his itineraries and notebooks, and gave me most valuable practical hints as to routes, etc. He was particularly anxious that before I started I should gain some practical knowledge of the Arabic which is spoken at Baghdâd, and advised me to read as much as possible of the Arabic text of Macnaghten's edition of the "Thousand Nights and a Night" (Arabian Nights), and the "Hundred Little Stories" published by the Dominicans at Bêrût. He recommended me to read and to talk Arabic with Mr. J. M. Shemtob, a dealer in Oriental antiquities in London, whose father had held a position of some importance in the *Khuṣṣnah*, or Treasury, of Baghdâd, and I, of course, followed his advice. Rawlinson gave me the names of some friends of his who were still living in Baghdâd, where he had acted as British Consul-General for twelve years, and subsequently supplied me with letters of introduction to them.

Whilst the official arrangements for my Mission to Baghdâd were being made, I received information from a native in Egypt that some very important discoveries at Thebes had been made. He told me that a tomb had been found on the western bank of the Nile, which was, from the dealer's point of view, the best he had ever seen, and that there were in it several rolls of papyrus. He went on to say that a native woman had discovered at

Tall al-'Amârnah, by accident, a large box full of pieces of clay, with what he thought was writing on both sides of each piece. He and his friends had secured a great many of them, and some dealers said that the pieces of clay were like the little blocks of clay which had been brought to Cairo from Baghdâd a few years ago, and that the marks on back and front were *kitba mismâri*, "nail-writing," i.e., cuneiform writing. The writer urged me to come to Egypt without delay, and to take possession of all these things before the "Mudîr of Anticas" could seize them, and cast their owners into prison. I read this letter to the Principal Librarian and to my chief, and they decided that I must visit Upper Egypt on my way to Baghdâd. They drafted a report in which they suggested that I should disembark at Alexandria, proceed to Luxor and secure the papyri, etc., and then return to the coast, and continue my journey to Baghdâd; the Trustees approved the proposal, and ordered application to be made to the Treasury for the necessary money.

I left London on December 7th, supplied with letters of introduction from Lord Salisbury, Sir E. Bradford, Rawlinson, Mr. S. Lynch (to the firm of Lynch Brothers, Baghdâd), Mr. H. Rassam (to the native overseers and watchmen of the sites of excavations), and Mr. Shemtob (to certain Jewish Rabbis at Baghdâd). I went to Marseilles and embarked there in the steamship "Niémen" (Messageries Maritimes) on the 8th, and arrived at Alexandria eight days later. The "Niémen" was a slow boat, and we met with bad weather, but we should have kept our time in Alexandria had it not been for a piece of bad luck. We saw the P. & O. boat, which was carrying the Indian Mail from Brindisi to Alexandria, in front of us all the afternoon of the 14th, and as she had a pilot on board to take her over the bar at Alexandria, and we had none, our captain made every effort to overtake her, so that we might cross the bar in her wake. The P. & O. boat steamed much faster than we did, and we saw her cross the bar at 4.15, but when we arrived an hour or so later such a high sea was running before a strong wind, which had suddenly sprung

up, that he was afraid to attempt to enter the harbour in fast-failing light. He whistled over and over again for a pilot, but the sea was so rough that no pilot would come out, and he was obliged to turn and put to sea again, and steam about until the gale abated and the sea went down. For about forty hours he steamed about with the sea dashing over both sides of the ship, and we did not reach the harbour until Friday the 16th at noon. The captain was a gallant little gentleman and quite imperturbable, and he stayed on his bridge during those forty most unpleasant hours. On the quay I found my friend Mr. Magro waiting for me, and in a very short time I was again under the hospitable roof of General de Montmorency.

The delay in landing caused by the storm was specially exasperating because it made it impossible for me to reach Luxor that week, and as no steamer left Asyût until the following Wednesday I decided to stay with the General until Monday and improve my acquaintance with Alexandria. In the course of the next three days I met many of the prominent members of the British community. Among these was Mr. (later Sir) Charles Cookson, H.B.M.'s Consul at Alexandria, who acted with great bravery during the riots which followed the bombardment of the forts by the British in 1882. He told me that he had been informed officially from Cairo that an important "find" of papyri and other things had been made in Upper Egypt, and that the British Museum had despatched an official to try to acquire the same. He went on to say that if I happened to be that official he felt it to be his duty, in obedience to the instructions which he had received from the Consul-General, to warn me that he would in no way assist me to export antiquities from Egypt. Speaking, he said, as "an old official," and also as one who was ready to assist any friend of General de Montmorency, he advised me to make my trip to the places to which I had been despatched, and to enjoy the country and the climate as much as possible, and to desist wholly from attempting to buy and export

antiquities, which was strictly forbidden by the laws of Egypt. He warned me that I must not expect any assistance from him, and that he would oppose, by every means in his power, the exportation of antiquities, which ought to be carefully preserved in Egypt "to proclaim to the modern Egyptians the past glory of their country." When the General heard of the fatherly advice which Mr. Cookson had given me, he said to me, "Go and do the job your employers have sent you to do, and if I can help you come to me"; truly he was a "strong tower" to me.

I met also Mr. J. R. Moss, Director of the "Moss Line" of steamers, and his confidential clerk Mr. Kneen; from both these gentlemen I received much help and kindness. Closely associated with them in business matters was Mr. J. C. Chapman, the P. & O. agent in Alexandria, a magnificent figure of a man, some inches over six feet in height, with a huge brown beard which reached nearly to his waist and would have done credit to a patriarch. Another most interesting man was Mr. Benjamin Smith, Director of Eastern Telegraphs in Alexandria. He had spent many years in the Far East, and in India and the Persian Gulf, and his position of confidence in the Company's service enabled him to acquire a mass of information of a rare character. He was a great authority on quadruplex submarine telegraphy, and had invented or perfected, I forget which, an instrument for detecting the exact position of a "fault" or leakage in deep sea cables, and had thereby saved the Company very much time, trouble, and expense. When the British fleet began to bombard Alexandria in 1882 all his staff promptly bolted and took with them everything portable, and he was left alone to "carry on." He kept his syphon-recorder instruments working under strong covers, and charged his batteries without help, and so maintained communication with Malta, Port Sa'id and India. Meanwhile houses were tumbling down near his office, and an Alexandrian mob was rushing through the streets, setting fire to everything that would burn, and enjoying

an orgy of pillage and destruction. At length a boat-load of British sailors fought their way to his office, and carried him and his precious instruments off to their ship. Through his kindness I was able to communicate frequently with the Museum, my telegrams being considered by him as "service messages." I also met in Mr. B. Smith's house Mr. Moberly Bell, who afterwards attained a most important position on the staff of *The Times*.

On the 19th of December I accompanied General de Montmorency to Cairo, and we were met by Colonel Holled Smith (see p. 101) and Henry Wallis the artist, who had made some excellent coloured drawings of the Aswân tombs.¹ At the hotel I found several dealers who had managed to find out the day and hour of my arrival in Cairo, and from them I learned the position of affairs in their world. I heard with very great regret that Maspero had resigned his position as Director of the Service of Antiquities on account of ill-health, and that he had already left Egypt. This was a very serious matter for Egyptology, at least in Egypt, and more especially for the Bûlâk Museum, for there was no one available in France who could adequately fill his place. He was not only an accomplished Egyptologist, but he possessed all the traditions of his great predecessor Mariette. He understood the natives very well, and he could talk colloquial Arabic as well as a donkey-boy, and used tact and sympathy in dealing with them, except on a few occasions—*e.g.*, the torturing of the natives at Kanâ—when I think his kindly nature must have been overruled by the Mudîr. Maspero wished Professor E. Naville to succeed him in the Museum in Egypt, and his appointment would have given general satisfaction. But Naville was a Swiss, and politics demanded that a Frenchman should control the destinies of Egyptian antiquities in Egypt, and thus it came to pass that a pupil of Maspero, Monsieur E. Grébaut, was appointed to be his successor. M. Grébaut had published one very

¹ Reproduced in monochrome in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. x (1888), p. 1 ff.

good book on a Hymn to Amen (written in hieratic), and as he was a student before everything, he would undoubtedly have done very good work had he been allowed to continue his studies. But by nature, and disposition, and training, he was unsuited for the post into which he was thrust, and all those who had at heart the progress of Egyptology, and the welfare of the National Collection in Egypt, regretted the appointment.

Before I had been in Cairo many hours I found that everybody was talking about the discoveries which had been made in Upper Egypt, and the most extraordinary stories were afloat. Rumours of the "finds" had reached all the great cities of Europe, and there were representatives of several Continental Museums in Cairo, each doing his best, as was right, to secure the lion's share. The British officials with whom I came in contact thought, or said they thought, that whatever the objects might be which had been discovered, they ought to go to the Bûlâk Museum, and that any attempt made to obtain any part of them for the British Museum must be promptly crushed. The Egyptian officials of the Service of Antiquities behaved according to their well-known manner. No official of the Bûlâk Museum knew where the "finds" had been made, or what they consisted of, and M. Grébaut and his assistants went about the town with entreaties and threats to every native who was supposed to possess any information about them. Instead of recognizing the fact that, rightly or wrongly, the "finds" were at that moment in the hands of native dealers, and trying to make arrangements to secure them by purchase, they went about declaring that the Government intended to seize them, and to put in prison all those who were in any way mixed up in the matter. M. Grébaut was unwise enough to hint publicly that the tortures which were sanctioned at Kanâ might be revived, but the tortures and persecution of 1880 had taught the natives how little Government officials were to be trusted, and one and all refused to give him any information. Every move which he made was met by a counter move by the natives, and they were always successful.

Meanwhile very definite rumours about the "finds" in Upper Egypt drifted down the river to Cairo, and some members of the Government insisted that M. Grébaut should take active steps to secure some of the treasures which had been found, and they ordered him to make a journey to Upper Egypt, and find out for himself what was taking place there. They placed one of Isma'il Pâshâ's old pleasure-steamers at his disposal, and ordered an adequate force of police to accompany him. Before he left for the South he called upon me at the Royal Hotel, and although he threatened me with arrest and legal prosecution afterwards, if I attempted to deal with the natives, I found him a very agreeable and enlightened man, and we had a pleasant conversation. He told me that his great ambition was to be regarded as a worthy successor of Maspero, and that there was one mark of public recognition which I could help him to obtain. The Trustees of the British Museum, he reminded me, had presented a set of their magnificent Egyptological publications to Maspero, which was a very distinguished mark of honour, and a public acknowledgment of his scholarly eminence, and he hoped that the Trustees would honour him in the same way. I told him that I thought he might do a great deal towards getting that honour by adopting a liberal policy in dealing with their representative in Egypt, and that in any case I would duly report the conversation to the Principal Librarian. That same evening I learned that he had told off some of his police to watch the hotel in which I was staying, and that he had ordered them to report to him my goings out and comings in, and the names of all antiquity dealers who had speech with me.

I left Cairo that night for Asyût, and soon after leaving Bûlâk ad-Dakrûr station I was joined in the train by a Frenchman and a Maltese, who told me that they were "interested" in anticas, and that there were police in the train who had been ordered to watch both them and me. At Dêr Mawâs, the station for Hâjjî Kândil, or Tall al-'Amârnah, the Frenchman left the train, and set out to try to buy some of the tablets

said to have been found at Tall al-'Amârnah, and as he left the station some of the police from the train followed him. At Asyût the Maltese and myself embarked on the steamer, and the remainder of the police followed us. As the steamer tied up for the night at Akhmîm and Kanâ I had plenty of time at each place to examine the antiquities which the dealers had in their houses, and to bargain for those I wanted. At Akhmîm I found a very fine collection in the hands of a Frenchman who owned a flour-mill in Cairo, and he caused the police to be entertained at supper whilst he and I conducted our deal for Coptic manuscripts. He told me that it was he who had sold to Maspero all the Coptic papyri and manuscripts which the Louvre had acquired during the last few years, and then went on to say that if he had known that Maspero intended to dispose of these things he would not have let him have them at such a low price. Thus I learned at first hand that the Director of the Service of Antiquities had bought and disposed of¹ antiquities, and exported them, which the British authorities in Cairo declared to be contrary to the law of the land.

As there was work for me to do in Aswân, I decided to make no stay in Luxor on my way up the river, but during the few hours which the steamer stopped there I learned from some of the dealers, and from my friend, the Rev. Chauncey Murch of the American Mission, some details of the "finds" which had been made. I took the opportunity of sending a couple of natives across the river to fetch me skulls for Professor Macalister, who wanted more and more specimens. During one of the visits which I made to Western Thebes the previous year I was taken into a huge cave at the back of the second row of hills towards the desert, which had been used by the ancient Egyptians as a cemetery. There I saw literally thousands of poorly-made mummies and "dried bodies," some leaning against the sloping sides of the

¹ He was, probably, purchasing these things on behalf of the Louvre.

cave, and others piled up in heaps of different sizes. I had no means of carrying away skulls when I first saw the cave, or I should certainly have made a selection then.

There was little to be had at Armant, but I saw at Jabalên, which marks the site of Crocodilopolis, a number of pots of unusual shape and make, and many flints. On arriving at Aswân, I was met by Captain W. H. Drage (now Colonel Drage Pâshâ) and Doone Bey, who gave me much assistance in packing up the remainder of the Kûfi grave-stones, which I had been obliged to leave there earlier in the year. My friend, the Ma'amûr, produced a further supply of skulls from the pit in the hill across the river, and I learned incidentally that the natives had nicknamed me "Abû ar-Ra'wûs," or "father of skulls." The general condition of the town had changed astonishingly, for the British soldiers had departed, to the north, their camps and barracks were deserted and as silent as the grave, and Aswân was just a rather large sleepy Nile village. And the change across the river was great. The paths which we had made with such difficulty were blocked with sand, and the great stone stairway and the ledge above it were filled with sand and stones which had slid down from the top of the hill, and the tombs were practically inaccessible.

Soon after my return to Luxor I set out with some natives one evening for the place on the western bank where the "finds" of papyri had been made. Here I found a rich store of fine and rare objects, and among them the largest roll of papyrus I had ever seen. The roll was tied round with a thick band of papyrus cord, and was in a perfect state of preservation, and the clay seal which kept together the ends of the cord was unbroken. The roll lay in a rectangular niche in the north wall of the sarcophagus chamber, among a few hard stone amulets. It seemed like sacrilege to break the seal and untie the cord, but when I had copied the name on the seal, I did so, for otherwise it would have been impossible to find out the contents of the papyrus. We unrolled a few feet of the papyrus an inch or so at a time, for it



Painted limestone stele of Sebek-hotep, scribe of the royal wine cellar. XVIIIth dynasty.
Brit. Mus., No. 1368.



Vignette and text of the "Chapter of making the transformation into a hawk of gold," from the Papyrus of Nu. Early XVIIIth dynasty.

Brit. Mus., No. 10477.

was very brittle, and I was amazed at the beauty and freshness of the colours of the human figures and animals, which, in the dim light of the candles and the heated air of the tomb, seemed to be alive. A glimpse of the Judgment Scene showed that the roll was a large and complete Codex of the Per-em-hru, or "Book of the Dead," and scores of lines repeated the name of the man for whom this magnificent roll had been written and painted, viz., "Ani, the real¹ royal scribe, the registry of the offerings of all the Gods, overseer of the granaries of the Lords of Abydos, and scribe of the offerings of the Lords of Thebes." When the papyrus was unrolled in London the inscribed portion of it was found to be 78 feet long, and at each end was a section of blank papyrus about 2 feet long. In another place, also lying in a niche in the wall, was another papyrus Codex of the Book of the Dead, which, though lacking the beautiful vignettes of the Papyrus of Ani, was obviously much older, and presumably of greater importance philologically. The name of the scribe for whom it was written was Nu, and the names of his kinsfolk suggested that he flourished under one of the early kings of the XVIIIth dynasty. In other places we found other papyri, among them the Papyrus of the priestess Anhai, in its original painted wooden case, which was in the form of the triune god of the resurrection, Ptaḥ-Seker-Âsar, and a leather roll containing Chapters of the Book of the Dead, with beautifully painted vignettes, and various other objects of the highest interest and importance. I took possession of all these papyri, etc., and we returned to Luxor at daybreak. Having had some idea of the things which I was going to get, I had taken care to set a tin-smith to work at making cylindrical tin boxes, and when we returned from our all-night expedition I found them ready waiting for me. We then rolled each papyrus in layers of cotton, and placed it in its box, and tied the box up in *gumâsh*, or coarse linen cloth, and when all the papyri and other objects were packed up we deposited

¹ As opposed to honorary.

the boxes in a safe place. This done we all adjourned a little after sunrise to a house (since demolished) belonging to Muḥammad Muḥassib,¹ which stood on the river front, and went up on the roof to enjoy the marvellous freshness of the early morning in Egypt, and to drink coffee.

Whilst we were seated there discussing the events of the past night, a little son of the house, called Mursi, came up on the roof, and, going up to his father, told him that some soldiers and police had come to the house, and were then below in the courtyard. We looked over the low wall of the roof, and we saw several of the police in the courtyard, and some soldiers posted outside as sentries. We went downstairs, and the officer in charge of the police told us that the Chief of the Police of Luxor had received orders during the night from M. Grébaut, the Director of the Service of Antiquities, to take possession of every house containing antiquities in Luxor, and to arrest their owners and myself, if found holding communication with them. I asked to see the warrants for the arrests, and he told me that M. Grébaut would produce them later on in the day. I asked him where M. Grébaut was, and he told me at Naḳādah, a village about twelve miles to the north of Luxor, and went on to say that M. Grébaut had sent a runner from that place with instructions to the Chief of the Police at Luxor to do what they were then doing—that is, to take possession of the houses of all dealers and to arrest us. He then told Muḥammad and myself that we were arrested. At this moment the runner who had been sent by Grébaut joined our assembly in the casual way that Orientals have, and asked for *bakhshish*, thinking that he had done a meritorious thing in coming to Luxor so quickly. We gave him good *bakhshish*, and then began to question him. We learned that M. Grébaut had failed to reach Luxor the day before because the *ra'is*, or captain of his steamer, had managed to run the steamer on to a sand-bank a little to the north of Naḳādah, where it remained

¹ Now Al-Hajj Muḥammad Muḥassib Bey.

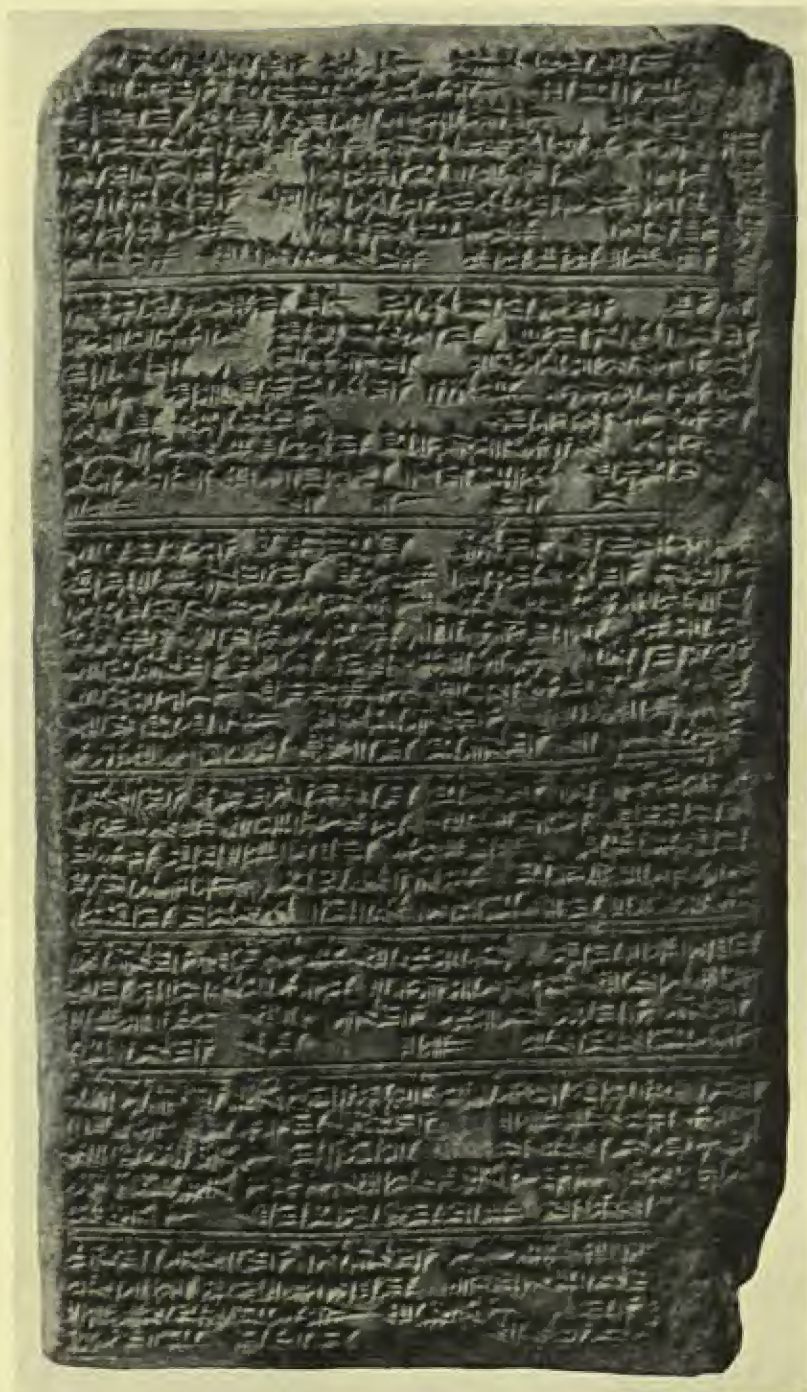
for two days. It then came out that the captain had made all arrangements to celebrate the marriage of his daughter, and had invited many friends to witness the ceremony and assist at the subsequent feast, which was to take place at Nakādah on the very day on which M. Grébaut was timed to arrive at Luxor. As the captain felt obliged to be present at his daughter's marriage, and the crew wanted to take part in the wedding festivities, naturally none of the attempts which they made to re-float the steamer were successful. Our informant, who knew quite well that the dealers in Luxor were not pining for a visit from M. Grébaut, further told us that he thought the steamer could not arrive that day or the day after. According to him, M. Grébaut determined to leave his steamer, and to ride to Luxor, and his crew agreed that it was the best thing to do under the circumstances. But when he sent for a donkey it was found that there was not a donkey in the whole village, and it transpired that as soon as the villagers heard of his decision to ride to Luxor, they drove their donkeys out into the fields and neighbouring villages, so that they might not be hired for M. Grébaut's use.

The runner's information was of great use to us, for we saw that we were not likely to be troubled by M. Grébaut that day, and as we had much to do we wanted the whole day clear of interruptions. Meanwhile, we all needed breakfast, and Muḥammad Muḥassib had a very satisfying meal prepared, and invited the police and the soldiers to share it with us. This they gladly agreed to do, and as we ate we arranged with them that we were to be free to go about our business all day, and as I had no reason for going away from Luxor that day, I told the police officer that I would not leave the town until the steamer arrived from Aswān, when I should embark in her and proceed to Cairo. When we had finished our meal the police officer took possession of the house, and posted watchmen on the roof and a sentry at each corner of the building. He then went to the houses of the other dealers, and sealed them, and set guards over them.

In the course of the day a man arrived from Hajji

Kandîl, bringing with him some half-dozen of the clay tablets which had been found accidentally by a woman at Tall al-'Amârnah, and he asked me to look at them, and to tell him if they were *kadim*, i.e., "old" or *jadid*, i.e., "new"—that is to say, whether they were genuine or forgeries. The woman who found them thought they were bits of "old clay," and useless, and sold the whole "find" of over 300¹ tablets to a neighbour for 10 piastres (2s.)! The purchaser took them into the village of Hajjî Kandîl, and they changed hands for £E10. But those who bought them knew nothing about what they were buying, and when they had bought them they sent a man to Cairo with a few of them to show the dealers, both native and European. Some of the European dealers thought they were "old," and some thought they were "new," and they agreed together to declare the tablets forgeries so that they might buy them at their own price as "specimens of modern imitations." The dealers in Upper Egypt believed them to be genuine, and refused to sell, and, having heard that I had some knowledge of cuneiform, they sent to me the man mentioned above, and asked me to say whether they were forgeries or not; and they offered to pay me for my information. When I examined the tablets I found that the matter was not as simple as it looked. In shape and form, and colour and material, the tablets were unlike any I had ever seen in London or Paris, and the writing on all of them was of a most unusual character and puzzled me for hours. By degrees I came to the conclusion that the tablets were certainly not forgeries, and that they were neither royal annals nor historical inscriptions in the ordinary sense of the word, nor business or commercial documents. Whilst I was examining the half-dozen tablets brought to me a second man from Hajjî Kandîl arrived with seventy-six more of the tablets, some of them quite large. On the largest and best written of the second lot of tablets I was able to make

¹ The actual number of tablets transliterated and translated by Knudtzon (*Die el Amarna-Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1907 ff) is 359.



Letter from Tushratta, King of Mitani, to Amen-hotep III, King of Egypt.
Brit. Mus., No. 29791.

out the words "A-na Ni-ib-mu-a-ri-ya,"¹ *i.e.*, "To Nib-muariya," and on another the words "[A]-na Ni-im-mu-ri-ya shar mâtu Mi-iş-ri,"² *i.e.*, "to Nimmuriya, king of the land of Egypt." These two tablets were certainly letters addressed to a king of Egypt called "Nib-muariya," or "Nimmuriya." On another tablet I made out clearly the opening words "A-na Ni-ip-khu-ur-ri-ri-ya shar mâtu [Mişri],"³ *i.e.*, "To Nibkhur-ririya, king of the land of [Egypt,]" and there was no doubt that this tablet was a letter addressed to another king of Egypt. The opening words of nearly all the tablets proved them to be letters or despatches, and I felt certain that the tablets were both genuine and of very great historical importance.

Up to the moment when I arrived at that conclusion neither of the men from Hajji Kandil had offered the tablets to me for purchase, and I suspected that they were simply waiting for my decision as to their genuineness to take them away and ask a very high price for them, a price beyond anything I had the power to give. Therefore, before telling the dealers my opinion about the tablets, I arranged with them to make no charge for my examination of them, and to be allowed to take possession of the eighty-two tablets forthwith. They asked me to fix the price which I was prepared to pay for the tablets, and I did so, and though they had to wait a whole year for their money they made no attempt to demand more than the sum which they agreed with me to accept.

I then tried to make arrangements with the men from Hajji Kandil to get the remainder of the tablets from Tall al-'Amârnah into my possession, but they told me that they belonged to dealers who were in treaty with an agent of the Berlin Museum in Cairo. Among the tablets was a very large one, about 20 inches long and broad in proportion. We now know that it contained a list

¹ 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣.

² 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣.

³ 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎣.

of the dowry of a Mesopotamian princess who was going to marry a king of Egypt. The man who was taking this to Cairo hid it between his inner garments, and covered himself with his great cloak. As he stepped up into the railway coach this tablet slipped from his clothes and fell on the bed of the railway, and broke in pieces. Many natives in the train and on the platform witnessed the accident and talked freely about it, and thus the news of the discovery of the tablets reached the ears of the Director of Antiquities. He at once telegraphed to the Mudir of Asyût, and ordered him to arrest and put in prison everyone who was found to be in possession of tablets, and, as we have seen, he himself set out for Upper Egypt to seize all the tablets he could find. Meanwhile, a gentleman in Cairo who had obtained four of the smaller tablets and paid £100 for them, showed them to an English professor, who promptly wrote an article upon them, and published it in an English newspaper.¹ He post-dated the tablets by nearly 900 years, and entirely misunderstood the nature of their contents. The only effect of his article was to increase the importance of the tablets in the eyes of the dealers, and, in consequence, to raise their prices, and to make the

¹ He stated that the writing was a neo-Babylonian style of cuneiform script, and that it belonged to the period extending from the age of Assur-bani-pal (B.C. 668-626) to that of Darius. See *Academy*, February 18th, 1888. Later he wrote: "Most of the tablets contain copies of despatches sent to the Babylonian king by his officers in Upper Egypt; and as one of them speaks of 'the conquest of Amasis' (*kasad Amasi*), whilst another seems to mention the name of Apries, the king in question must have been Nebuchadnezzar. The conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, so long doubted, is now therefore become a fact of history. In other tablets the Babylonian monarch is called the 'Sun-god,' like the native Pharaohs of Egypt. Mention is also made of 'the country of Nuqu' or Necho."—*Academy*, April 7th, 1888. As a matter of fact, no king called Amasis is mentioned on any of the tablets, and the despatches are addressed neither to Nebuchadnezzar nor to any other king of Babylon, but to Amen-hotep III and Amen-hotep IV, who lived at least 900 years before Nebuchadnezzar, and were kings of Egypt. (See my paper "On the Cuneiform Tablets from Tell el-Amarna," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. x, p. 540.)

acquisition of the rest of the "find" more difficult for everyone.

In the afternoon of that day another runner sent by M. Grébaut arrived, and he reported that the Director of Antiquities had managed to get his steamer off the sand-bank, and that he expected to arrive in Luxor sometime the following day. The runner brought further orders to the Chief of the Police to keep strict watch over the houses which had been sealed, and especially to be careful that the two dealers, Muḥammad Muḥassib and 'Abd al-Majīd, did not leave the town. With myself he said he would deal personally on his arrival. Now, among the houses that were sealed and guarded was a small one that abutted on the wall of the garden of the old Luxor Hotel. This house was a source of considerable anxiety to me, for in it I had stored the tins containing the papyri, several cases of anticas, some boxes of skulls for Professor Macalister, and a fine coffin and mummy from Akhmīm, which the Sardār had asked me to buy for him to present to the Swansea Museum. Besides these objects there were several cases of things which belonged to dealers in the town, who used the house as a safe place of storage. This house had good thick mud walls, and a sort of *sardāb*, or basement, where many anticas were stored. As its end wall was built up against the garden wall of the Luxor Hotel, which was at least two feet thick, the house was regarded as one of the safest "magazines" in Luxor. When the Luxor dealers, and other men who had possessions in the house saw it sealed up, and guards posted about it, and heard that it would be one of the first houses to be opened and its contents confiscated as soon as Grébaut arrived, they first invited the guards to drink cognac with them, and then tried to bribe them to go away for an hour; but the guards stoutly refused to drink and to leave their posts. The dealers commended the fidelity of the guards, and paid them high compliments, and then, making a virtue of necessity, went away and left them. But they did not forget that the house abutted on the garden wall, and they went and had an interview with the resident

manager of the hotel, and told him of their difficulty, and of their imminent loss. The result of their conversation was that about sunset a number of sturdy gardeners and workmen appeared with their digging tools and baskets, and they dug under that part of the garden wall which was next to the house and right through into the *sardâb* of the house. They made scarcely any noise, and they cut through the soft, unbaked mud bricks without difficulty. Whilst they were digging out the mud other men brought pieces of stout *latazânâh* planks, and they shored up the top and sides of their opening, which was about 2 feet square, to prevent any fall of bricks from the garden wall. As I watched the work with the manager it seemed to me that the gardeners were particularly skilled house-breakers, and that they must have had much practice.

It appears incredible, but the whole of the digging was carried out without the knowledge of the watchmen on the roof of the house and the sentries outside it. But it seemed unwise to rely overmuch on the silence of our operations, and we therefore arranged to give the police and the soldiers a meal, for they were both hungry and thirsty. M. Pagnon, the proprietor of the hotel, had a substantial supper prepared for them, *i.e.*, half a sheep boiled, with several pounds of rice, and served up in pieces with sliced lemons and raisins on a huge brass tray. When all were squatting round the tray on the ground, a large bowl of boiling mutton fat was poured over the rice, and the hungry fell to and scooped up the savoury mess with their hands. Whilst they were eating happily, man after man went into the *sardâb* of the house, and brought out, piece by piece and box by box, everything which was of the slightest value commercially, with the exception of the mummy and coffin which I had purchased at the Sardâr's request. I thought it well to leave these to be confiscated by M. Grébaut, so that the British authorities in Cairo might have experience of his tactics. In this way we saved the Papyrus of Ani, and all the rest of my acquisitions from the officials of the Service of Antiquities, and all Luxor rejoiced.

The following day M. Grébaut arrived in his steamer, and tied up off Karnak, and it was reported that he was unwell; at all events he shut himself up in his cabin, and did not leave the steamer. He had collected a great many coffins, funerary statues, boxes, alabaster pots, etc., on his way up the river, and all these were under the charge of a junior official of the Bûlâk Museum, who lived with him on the steamer as secretary, and was supposed to keep a register of everything which he took from the natives. The secretary knew the Luxor dealers very well, and it seemed to me that he must be associated with them in their business, for he landed at Karnak, and drank coffee and smoked with some of the most notorious of them, and joked about his chief's zeal and simplicity. A few hours later some very interesting objects from Akhmim were offered to me for purchase at a very reasonable figure. When I had secured them I found that the dealer had gone in a boat to M. Grébaut's steamer, and bought the things from M. Grébaut's confidential servant, who handed them down to him from one end of the steamer whilst his employer was dining at the other! In the evening news was received in Luxor that the steamer for Asyût had left Aswân, and would probably arrive about midnight. Soon after this the police officials arrested Muḥammad Muḥassib and 'Abd al-Majîd, and put them under guard, and it was arranged that they were to be fettered like criminals, and sent down the river to Kaṇâ, to be tried in the Mudîr's court there. I urged the two dealers to demand a sight of the warrants under which they were arrested, but they refused absolutely, and from a remark which one let fall to the other, I gathered that they had taken in all the possibilities of the situation, and might be depended upon to know exactly what they were doing. The police officer then directed his attention to me, and told me that I was under arrest, but when I asked to see the warrant under which I was arrested he had nothing to produce. A little explanation sufficed to show him that M. Grébaut's orders were ludicrous, and, warning me that I might hear more of the matter in Cairo, he departed.

When the steamer arrived from Aswân at midnight, I took with me the tin boxes containing the precious papyri, and the box containing the eighty-two tablets from Hajjî Kandil, and went on board, leaving the larger cases to come on to Cairo by a later boat. We did not leave Luxor until daybreak, and during the night Muḥammad Muḥassib and 'Abd al-Majîd were taken on board the steamer in irons and given seats upon deck. When I saw them seated there in the morning I joined them, and they and the police and I breakfasted and smoked comfortably together until we reached Kanâ, about noon. Here the police handed over the two dealers to the Kanâ police, who promptly marched them up to the Markaz¹ for examination and punishment. The Luxor police and I parted on the best of terms, and they returned to Luxor and I continued my journey to Cairo.

M. Grébaut's police reappeared at Asyût and journeyed in the train to Bûlâk ad-Dakrûr, which was the Cairo terminus of the line in those days. We arrived very early in the morning instead of very late at night, for the train was several hours late, and there were neither carriages nor donkeys there to convey passengers from the station into the town. I could not carry my personal baggage and the tin boxes of papyri and the box of tablets, and I saw no way of getting to the town quickly, which I felt to be necessary. I got my possessions outside the station, and then sat down to wait until a carriage should arrive bringing a passenger for the morning train to Upper Egypt, which started at eight o'clock. As I sat there, practically on the roadside, two British officers out for an early morning ride passed by, and as they did so one of them hailed me in a cheery voice, and asked me why I was sitting there at that time of the morning. I recognized the voice as that of an officer of whom I had seen a great deal the year before in Aswân, and I quickly told him why I was there, and about the contents of my bags and boxes, and my wish to get into the town as soon as possible. After a short talk with his

¹ The chief office of the Mudîr of the district.

brother officer, whom I had met at General Sir Frederick Stephenson's house in Cairo, my friend dismounted and went to the police, whom I had pointed out to him, and told them to carry my bags and boxes into Cairo for me. They said that they could do no more in respect of me without further instructions, and that they were quite ready to do as he wished. Thereupon they shouldered my possessions, the officer remounted, and we all set out for the barracks at Kaşr an-Nil. When we arrived at the great Kaşr an-Nil bridge over the Nile, the douaniers inspected us closely, but seeing the two British officers with the police and their loads, they saluted them with great respect, and asked no questions as to the contents of the boxes, as they should have done. The douaniers on the other side of the bridge, assuming that the police were carrying into the town goods belonging to the British Government, as indeed they were! also saluted the officers, and thus the difficulty of bringing my boxes across the bridge was overcome.

As we walked from Bûlâk ad-Dakrûr the elder policeman amused us by describing his adventures up the Nile with Grébaut. He knew all about the "find" of tablets made at Hajjî Kandîl, and told us how Grébaut had gone there breathing threats against every dealer in the place, and how they had hoodwinked him. At Akhmîm a native servant of a Greek went to Grébaut's steamer, and on his master's behalf offered him some antiquities for purchase. Without asking a question Grébaut told his secretary to seize the things, and ordered the policeman to arrest the man and put him into prison, and he did so. When the Greek heard of what had happened to his servant, he went to Grébaut, and demanded the release of his servant and the restoration of his antiquities. Thereupon Grébaut told the Greek that he was a thief, and had him arrested and cast into prison forthwith. The Greek applied to his Minister in Cairo, and as soon as he was released from prison brought an action against Grébaut for sending him to prison wrongfully. When the Greek applied to Grébaut for the restoration of the goods which had been taken from his servant, it was

found that they had been stolen from Grébaut's steamer. Thereupon the Greek brought a second action against Grébaut, and the Court awarded him a great deal more than his goods were worth. The policeman went on to tell us that this kind of thing was taking place wherever Grébaut went, and I heard later that he only abandoned his practice of arresting people, and putting them in prison, when the Egyptian Government told him that he would have to pay the costs of all the actions which followed the arrests out of his own pocket. Such talk brought us to the barracks, where the policemen left us, calling down on our heads the blessings of Allah for our generosity to them.

In the Royal Engineers' Mess in the barracks I found Major Hepper, R.E., who had helped me so much when I was clearing out the Aswân tombs the previous winter. He listened to the story of my recent Luxor experiences with great interest, and then asked me to tell him where the papyri and Tall al-'Amârnah tablets were to go, and for whom I had bought them. I told him I had bought them for the British Museum, and that they would be paid for by the British Treasury with public money, and that I was most anxious to get them sent off to the British Museum before I started for Baghdâd. In answer he said, "I think I can help you, and I will. As you have bought these things which you say are so valuable for the British Museum, and they are to be paid for with public money, they are clearly the property of the British Government, and they must be put into a place of safety as soon as possible." He went on to say that he had been appointed to the Guernsey Command, and that he was leaving for Alexandria that afternoon to take up his new duties, and that he would take all the tin boxes containing the papyri with him, and send them to the Principal Librarian of the British Museum when opportunity offered. He and I then opened the tin boxes, took out the papyri, and repacked them in waterproof cloth, and then he had the tin boxes packed in cases, which were marked and numbered in sequence with some cases of Government property which had to



Portrait figure of Henuâ, with the gold crown, mask, headdress, and other ornaments, which were placed on it on days of festival. XXth dynasty.
Brit. Mus., No. 1482.

go with him. The box of tablets was too large and heavy for him to take overland, but the fact that the papyri were in safe hands filled me with gladness. I could not find words to express my gratitude to Major Hepper for his prompt and effective help. Before I left Cairo for Baghdád I learned that the papyri had been received at the British Museum.

This anxious piece of business settled, I lost no time in reporting to the Sardâr that I had chosen a mummy and coffin for him to present to Swansea, and had left them in a house at Luxor, which had been seized by the police, under Grébaut's instructions, and sealed up. He said he had no authority over Grébaut, that the proceedings of Grébaut were high-handed and foolish, and that I had better report the matter at once to Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff, who was then Minister of Public Works. I did so, and Sir Colin gave me a patient but resigned hearing. The story of the seizure of antiquities by Grébaut and his men, and the sealing of the houses, etc., left him cold, and the few remarks which he made only showed that he cared nothing about Egyptian antiquities, and that he considered both Grébaut and myself as nuisances, which in some way ought to be abated. He was, however, a just and fair-minded man, and when I described to him the arrest of the two dealers, and their transport to Ẓanâ in irons, the matter seemed to him to be serious, and he was considerably disturbed in mind. He bade me stay whilst he sent one messenger to find out by whose authority the dealers had been arrested and taken to Ẓanâ, and another to take to the telegraph office an official message to the Mudîr of Ẓanâ, ordering him to take no steps against the dealers without special authority from himself. In a short time the first messenger returned with the information that the police had issued no warrants for the arrest of the dealers, and that the Mudîr of Ẓanâ had telegraphed to the Police Office in Cairo for instructions. Sir Colin at once despatched a telegram to the Mudîr of Ẓanâ, ordering him to set free the dealers, and to send them back to Luxor at the expense of the Government, and told me what he had

done. He also despatched a telegram to Grébaut, but its contents he did not reveal to me. When I left him I telegraphed to Mr. George Howard (afterwards Earl of Carlisle), and told him what Sir Colin had done, and I did so because I knew that the contents of my telegram would leak out during transmission to Luxor, and that it would be impossible for Grébaut to play further tricks on the natives, at least for a time.¹

Meanwhile, the days were passing, and it was time for me to set out for Baghdâd. General de Montmorency had arranged to go with me to Baghdâd, and we proposed to make up a little caravan, and to travel viâ Bêrût, Damascus, Palmyra and Dêr, and to share expenses. At the last moment, however, some military question arose in Alexandria which made it impossible for him to be absent from his Command for two or three months, and he had to abandon his plan. The estimated cost of travelling overland to Baghdâd was between £300 and £350, exclusive of the presents which would have to be given to the various tribes for leave to pass through their territories—in other words, I was told by those who made

¹ A few days later I received an account of what had happened after my departure from Luxor. The two dealers were released at Kanâ immediately after the receipt by the Mudir of Sir Colin's telegram, and two days later they were back in Luxor. During their absence Grébaut arrived, and at once proceeded to examine the contents of their houses, which had been sealed by his order and strictly watched. He first went to 'Abd al-Majid's house and entered it, and went through room after room, but found no antiquities of any kind. He then went on to Muḥammad's house, broke the seals, and entered, and went through all the rooms but found no antiquities. He next went to the little house close by the garden wall of the Luxor Hotel, broke the seals and entered, and went through the rooms and found nothing, for since my departure the mummy and coffin which I left there had been removed. He then lost his temper, accused the watchmen and policemen of having helped the dealers to defeat him, and ordered the chief police officer of the town to put several of them in prison. This the officer refused to do without further authority. The following day the two dealers entered actions against Grébaut for wrongful imprisonment and damage to their business, and for forcible entry into their houses without a warrant. The local tribunals naturally supported the Luxor dealers, and they won their cases.

arrangements for travellers to visit Baghdâd that the journey there and back would probably cost about £500. Besides this, Mesopotamia was said to be in a very disturbed state, and no agent would guarantee either to get me to Baghdâd, or to bring me back. I therefore decided to travel by sea to Bombay or Karachi, thence by the British-India Mail Steamer to Basrah, and by Messrs. Lynch's river steamer to Baghdâd. I booked a passage in the "*Navarino*," of the British-India Line, and, having deposited my large cases of antiquities in safe hands in Cairo, I took the box of Tall al-'Amârnah tablets with me, and went to Suez, hoping to be able to embark immediately in the "*Navarino*," which I was told would be lying there.

When I arrived at Suez I learned that the "*Navarino*" was actually at Malta, where, owing to some accident to her engines, she had been delayed for several days, and there was no possibility of her reaching Suez for five or six days. This was a very vexatious delay, but I determined to take the opportunity of paying a brief visit to certain sites in the Eastern Desert. In the hotel I found my old friend, the Rev. W. J. Loftie (see p. 76), who was paying his annual visit to Suez, and was occupying himself with marrying couples, and baptizing the babies of the European community. He was friend and confidant to the whole British community, and knew everybody, and he introduced me to De Wilton Bey, the Chief of Customs in the Port, and to many English shippers and merchants and officials of the Eastern Telegraphs Company. Through his agency I was fortunate enough to obtain the use of a swift steam launch, and I spent some very active days in visiting Moses' Wells, and all the sites where antiquities had been found when the bed of the Suez Canal was being cut between the Bitter Lakes and Suez. I was also able to travel over a part of the desert east of the Bitter Lakes, where, according to some authorities, the Israelites began their forty years' wanderings. At the Serapeum I saw in the possession of a native the head of a colossal statue of Psammetichus II, and I agreed to buy it from him if he would have it taken to Cairo, where I could have it

packed. He was unable to do this at that time, and I did not actually get possession of it until nearly twenty years later. It is one of the most important objects ever found on the route of the Canal.¹

One evening, January 12th, 1888, the "Navarino" arrived quite unexpectedly, and I hoped she would have stayed for a couple of days, which would have enabled me to make a little trip into the Western Desert to the birthplace (according to ancient tradition) of Mâr Awgîn,² the pearl-fisher of Clysmā, and founder of asceticism in Mesopotamia. But this was not to be, and I had to hurry on board, taking my precious box of Tall al-'Amârnah tablets with me, and as soon as the canal rudder of the "Navarino" was unshipped she sailed at once. She was carrying stores for the garrison at Aden, and in obedience to urgent Admiralty instructions to "hurry up" she stayed at Suez barely an hour. The "Navarino" was a fine old boat, with large comfortable cabins upholstered in maple and gold, and she had all over her the signs of a ship which belonged to the times before the Suez Canal, when Anglo-Indians enjoyed a leisurely voyage from Bombay to London viâ the Cape of Good Hope. In her best days she could steam ten knots, but old age had reduced her speed to nine, and at that rate we steamed down the Gulf of Suez and the Red Sea. Among the stores she was carrying were four hundred hogsheads of beer for Aden, and whenever the sea was inclined to get up the captain slowed down, fearing lest the hogsheads, which he said had been badly stowed under the floor of the saloon, should "get adrift," and burst up the floor. Thus we had plenty of time to see some of the Red Sea ports, and the Shadwân³ Rocks, and Perim, and the Straits of Bâb al-Mandab. We stayed at Aden⁴ three

¹ I purchased it in 1906; it is now in the Southern Egyptian Gallery No. 803.

² He died A.D. 362.

³ More correctly "Shadawân."

⁴ The 'Adan of the Arab geographers. The authorities quoted by Yâkût (iii, p. 621) refer to the want of water and vegetation in the town, and say that among its inhabitants were the descendants of Aaron or Abraham.

days, but this long stop was not according to schedule, being the result of the high sea and stiff north-easterly gale which we met as soon as we left the Red Sea. The "Navarino" rolled heavily and wallowed in the seas, and what the captain feared actually happened. The wedges which held the hogsheads in position in the lower hold slipped, and the barrels "got adrift," and rolled about below, with a noise like thunder, from side to side, with every roll of the ship. When the hatches were opened at Aden, it was found that many of the barrels were smashed in pieces, and the hold was ankle deep in beer. An attempt was made to pump the beer into barrels which were brought down from the camps, but for some reason it was not successful. A large number of Aden coolies were then sent down into the hold with buckets, in which to bring up the beer and pour it into the barrels, but many of them drank the beer in such quantities that they became drunk, and sat down in the beer at the bottom of the hold, and went on drinking. The bringing up of these drunken men to the surface by means of tackle worked by the donkey engine was a most amusing sight, and both the passengers and the crew thoroughly enjoyed it. The soldiers who had come down to tally the barrels and take them away increased the merriment of everyone by their caustic remarks on the coolies, and their comments on this ludicrous exhibition. A dispute between the captain and the military authorities delayed the ship, and meanwhile we had plenty of time to see the sights of Aden, and to visit the "tanks," and even to go, under escort, a few miles into the desert. I was introduced to some of the British officers stationed there, and found that they were well acquainted with the researches which Captain Prideaux had made at Şan'â,¹ and were ready to help anyone who would continue the excavations which he had begun. But they told me that just then it was impossible to travel safely in the

¹ A good summary of the ancient history of the town will be found in Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 440 ff.

Hadramaut because all the tribes were in revolt against Turkey.

On returning one evening from the camp we heard that the dispute between the captain of the "Navarino" and the military authorities had been "arranged," and that all parties took the view that the loss of the beer through the breaking loose of the barrels was due to the "act of God." We sailed for Karachi the same night, and though the sky was heavily overclouded, we steamed during the next five days, to our great content, on an even keel. We arrived off Manôrah Point, Karachi, on the morning of the 24th, but owing to low tide did not enter the harbour until the afternoon. There I found the British-India Steamer "Assyria," which had arrived from Bombay that morning with the mails for the Persian Gulf and Baghdâd. The captain of the "Navarino" took me on board, and introduced me to the ship's officers, one of whom was called "Sargon," a name singularly appropriate for an officer on a ship called the "Assyria," and we sailed that evening at 9 p.m. The only other European passenger on board was Captain Anstruther Thompson, who was bound for Bushire, where he proposed to land and set out on his ride through Persia.

Our first port of call was Gwâdar, which we reached the next evening, but a high sea was running, and it was blowing so hard that no boat could come out from the little town. After waiting some hours the mail officer got the mail bags into a boat, and pushed off from the ship without disaster, but when he approached the land, as he afterwards reported, the wind and waves together hurled his boat on to the rocks, and broke it in pieces. He fortunately managed to get ashore almost unhurt, but several of his crew who clung to the rocks, when taken off two days later, were found to be badly knocked about. Nothing more could be done that night, so the captain steamed to the lee side of a projecting reef, and lay there till the following afternoon. About four o'clock the captain ordered an attempt to be made to bring off the mail officer and his crew, and the first officer managed to lower a boat and set off for the shore. Whilst

we were watching the progress of the boat over the comparatively smooth water, we suddenly saw the boat begin to come backwards, though the six men of the crew were rowing steadily. Then we saw that the sea was retreating from the land as if it were being sucked away by some mighty power, and our ship tugged hard at her anchor and began to drag it seawards. Then, after what seemed to me to be an interminable time, we saw a wave rise up from the sea and begin to roll towards the land. As it came towards us it grew higher, and it came on with greater speed, and I felt sure our little ship (she was only 900 tons) must be swallowed up by it. The wave dashed upon us, and carried us with it, and dropped us on a sandy bottom, and we saw it rush on and overwhelm the boat containing the first officer and his crew. It was a horrible sight, and the captain and everyone else gave up all hope of ever seeing any of them again. The captain rang to the engine-room for the engines to be set going, but they could not move the ship either ahead or astern, for we were aground; and we remained fast where we were until the next day, when a very high tide floated us off the shoal. In the course of the morning the captain steamed round the reef, and there observed signals being made to him from the shore. Very soon after two or three decrepit boats came off to the ship, bringing both of the ship's officers and the crews of the two smashed boats. It seems that although the tidal wave engulfed the first officer and his crew, they managed to scramble on to the rocks, and to drag themselves to the telegraph house, four miles distant, where they arrived in a fearfully exhausted state. When the crews of the two boats came on board they were all but naked, and were terribly battered and bruised. In the afternoon the sun shone brilliantly, and we could see the broken remains of all the native craft in the bay heaped up in piles on the beach, and far inland.

The next port we called at was Maskat, or Muscat,¹ or,

¹ For description of the town by the older travellers see Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, ii, 83 ff.; D'Ovington, *Voyage*, ii, 127; Hamilton, *East Indies*, i, 58; Wellsted, *Travels*, i, 50 ff.

as old writers call it, " Muscat Cove." We were steaming along apparently without any definite object in view, when suddenly the bows of the ship turned to port, and in a few minutes we passed from the open sea into a sort of circular lake, lying among bleak, bare rocks, which rose up in a slope all round it. The water was intensely clear and blue, and fish of many kinds could be seen swimming about in its depths: the brilliant sunlight made all the forts and buildings on the tops of the rocks¹ look like fairy palaces. The town, which is built on the slope opposite the entrance from the sea, appeared to be an enchanted abode. The port was full of native craft from Africa, Aden, Ceylon, India, and the Persian Gulf, etc., and almost before the anchor was down merchants boarded the ship and offered for sale pearls, rubies, emeralds, 'itr al-ward (attar of roses), silks, etc. Muscat is the gate of the Persian Gulf, and has usurped all the importance of Şeḥâr,² the capital of 'Ummân (Oman) in Arabia. With the suburb Maṭraḥ, which lies over the hill to the west, it monopolizes all the trade of that part of the world. Its slave market was very famous, and women of almost every Oriental nationality were to be bought there. In spring and summer the heat is very great, for the nights are never cool,³ and the rocks throw out during the night the heat which they collect during the day like furnaces. We paid a visit of ceremony to H.M.S. " Sphinx " (Captain Morrison), and were kindly received, but we did not call at the Residency, for the Resident, Colonel Miles, was on leave. The British-India Company's Agent took us to his house, and showed us with the greatest pride his lawn-tennis court, the only one in all Arabia. Some of the party stayed and played a game with him, but others and myself went into the town to see the sights.

¹ The two forts at the entrance are called " Mirâni " (right) and " Jalâli " (left).

² See Abū'l-Fidâ's *Geography* (ed. Reinaud and de Slane), p. 99, and Yâḳût, iv., p. 529.

³ See Pietro della Valle's remarks on the heat of Muscat (*Lettera IX*, vol. ii, p. 802); and Wellsted, *Travels*, i, 56.

The ruins of the old Portuguese church, or cathedral, of the sixteenth century were of considerable interest, as was also the Governor's house, but with the exception of the palace of the Imâm,¹ and a couple of minarets, there was nothing old worth looking at. We were introduced to a shêkh who presented us to the Wazîr of the Sultân of Muscat, and we were allowed to see his splendid Persian lion, a truly wonderful beast, which, it was said, he played with like a dog. We walked through the bazârs, which were poor and dirty, and all the native houses seemed to be on the point of tumbling down. Even at that time the heat in the town was most oppressive, and in summer it must be insupportable. The town was crowded with men of many nations—Indians, Persians, Jews, Arabs, Egyptians, Sûdânî folk, etc. Water is still drawn from the wells that are mentioned by Mas'ûdî in his "*Marûj adh-Dhahab*."² I was amazed to see in the market heaps of grain, and piles of fruit, dates, figs, plantains, pomegranates, etc., and fish and meat in abundance, and I was told that the grain and fruit were all brought into Muscat from the interior, where the natives pasture great herds of sheep and cattle. Some of the fish were brilliantly coloured, and some were extraordinarily large, and all had been caught in the harbour.

From Muscat we went to Jask,³ or Jashak, a small town enjoying a moderate amount of trade in textile

¹ The title of the Sultân of Muscat is "Imâm of 'Ummân."

² Ed. B. de Meynard, i, 331. Little of the early history of Muscat is known, for Yâkût (ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, p. 531) besides mentioning its position, says nothing about it.

³ Wellsted relates (*Travels*, i, 60) that after his ship, the "*Shatt al-Farât*," had safely passed into the Persian Gulf, the sailors offered up fervent prayers. "A miniature boat, fashioned from the shell of a cocoa-nut, with a small sail, and fancifully decorated with ribbons, had previously been prepared, and was now laden with a few grains of rice, and some dried flowers, and launched with loud cheers of '*Salamât*.' The same form is observed at the entrance of the Red Sea. It is a custom of great antiquity, and most probably a remnant of that universal superstition in which our pagan ancestors, together with the greater part of the world, were once enthralled, originating in a desire

fabrics and cereals. A high sea was running, and getting out the cargo which had to be landed was difficult. In fine weather the merchants at Jask sent out several lighters for their goods, but on this occasion they only sent one lighter, and much time was wasted in stowing the goods in it. There was, in reality, plenty of time to have gone ashore and looked at the town, but the captain's temper had worn so thin over the single lighter, and his language was so vivid, that when he told us we could not go ashore we made no remonstrance. Jask is very important as a submarine cable relay station, but it is a dreary looking place, and the European portion of it, as seen from the ship, seemed to consist of four houses and three trees. The mail-steamer used to send ashore to the eight telegraph officials who lived there a bag of loaves of white bread once a week.

Passing Kûh-i-Mubârak, our course lay almost due north, and we passed the Island of Ormuz¹ (Hôrmiẓd) on our right, and the Islands of Larak² and Kishm³ on our left. The Island of Ormuz is about four miles in diameter, and is nearly circular, and is inhabited by servants of the Sulṭân of Muscat, who collect rock salt

to propitiate, by offerings of value, the agency of the evil spirits of the deep. Indeed, my companions told me that the present was addressed to the Evil Spirit." An interesting and ancient parallel to the above is supplied by the Bull Inscription of Sennacherib, King of Assyria, B.C. 705-681. When the soldiers of this king sailed down the Tigris to attack the people of Nagitu and other districts at the head of the Persian Gulf, before they began their voyage across the sea the king offered up holy victims to Ea, lord of the ocean, and cast into the sea 𐎶 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, a ship of gold, 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, and a fish of gold 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, and an *alluttu** (whatever that may be) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 of gold 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (Smith, *Sennacherib*, p. 95. Bull Inscription, lines 79 and 80). The king no doubt did what sailors in that part of the world did before they attempted to cross the Persian Gulf.

¹ See the long description by Pietro della Valle (*Lettera XVIII* vol. ii, p. 463 ff.).

² Now uninhabited.

³ See Pietro della Valle (*Lettera XVIII*, vol. ii, p. 473 ff.).

* The *alluttu* was probably a model or figure of some actual fish or fabulous sea-monster; the word is still a puzzle to Assyrian lexicographers.


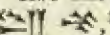
there. The remains of the old fort and its lighthouse stand on a small headland close to the Island, and parts of the old buildings are still visible. The old Kingdom of Ormuz was situated on the mainland opposite the Island, and was a fabulously rich trading centre as long as the Portuguese were predominant in the Persian Gulf. The Island of Kishm is about 50 miles long and 20 broad, and is inhabited chiefly by a seafaring population of about 7,000. The agricultural section of the population grows wheat, barley, vegetables, grapes, and dates, and rears cattle and poultry, and weaves a kind of cloth. The principal towns on the Island are Kishm, Basiduh, and Lûft.

Continuing on our course northwards, we arrived in a few hours at Bandar 'Abbâs, or the "Port of 'Abbâs," which was known before the days of Shâh 'Abbâs as "Gombrûn."¹ Until the reign of this king Gombrûn was a little town of no importance except for the fact that it was the coast terminus of an old caravan road from central Persia to the sea. When the power of the Portuguese was broken in 1622, the Island of Ormuz declined in importance as a trading centre, and Gombrûn, henceforth called Bandar 'Abbâs, occupied its place, and became the seaport of Persia. The English, French and Dutch all established factories there, and remains of those built by the English and the Dutch exist to this day. Fifty years later the dissensions in Persia destroyed the security of the trade-route from the sea to central Persia, and ships

¹ The Gumbrown, Gomrow, Gamrou, Gomroon, Cummeroon, Gomberoon, Combrû, Comorao, of mediæval writers; all these are corruptions of the name of the little town of GAMRÛN which Shâh 'Abbâs made into a port. Some say that Gombroon means "Custom House," and derive the word from the Greek Κομμερκί (Latin *commercium*) through the Arabic كُمْرُوكُ *kumruk*. (See de Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, iii, p. 339.) On the other hand, Hamilton (*A New Account*, vol. i, p. 92) says that "Gombroon" is derived from *hamrûn*, the Persian word for "shrimp," because prawns and shrimps were caught there in abundance. As for the heat of Gombroon, Dr. John Fryer (*A New Account*, London 1698, p. 224) quoting certain sailors says, "There was but an inch-deal betwixt Gomberoon and Hell."

from Africa and India made Bushire their port of call. The trade of Bandar 'Abbâs began to decline, and when the English abandoned the town in favour of Bushire its doom was sealed. The town is close to the sea, but is a poor and dirty place; its inhabitants are chiefly Persians and Kurds, and there is a small floating population from countries on the western frontier of Persia. The trade was said to be increasing, but the Persian Government seemed to have a faculty for destroying rather than fostering commerce. We saw, but had not time to go and examine, the famous tanks which the Portuguese hewed out of the solid rock, and two of them seemed to be about 500 yards long. The heat was great, even in January, and the moisture in the air soaked through khaki jackets long before breakfast time.

A few hours' steaming brought us to Linjah, where we sent ashore a comparatively large amount of rice, etc. Caravans start for Bushire from Linjah, and a considerable trade is done with them. The general view of the town stretching out along the coast is very picturesque.

From Linjah our course lay almost due west to Bahrên, a large island which lies in a deep bay north of Cape Rekkân. The name Bahrên, which means the "two seas," belongs, strictly speaking, to a part of the mainland, and Yâkût (i, 506) says that it represents the collection of towns on the shore of the Sea of India between Al-Başrah and 'Ummân.¹ From time immemorial the harbour at Manama, its capital,² has marked the end of the voyage of ships from India and Africa, and the starting point of ships for Başrah and Baghdâd. The district was well known to the Assyrians, who called it "(mātu) Ɖi-il-mu"  ,³ and to the Babylonians also. The Island of Bahrên is about 27 miles

¹ The Marâsid (ed. Juynboll, i, 130) takes the same view, and says that this land is fifteen days' journey from Başrah and a month's journey from 'Ummân; see also Al-Bakri (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 140; and Abū'l-Fida (ed. de Slane), p. 99.

² Population about 35,000 in 1915.

³ Smith, *Sennacherib* (Taylor Cylinder, iv, 78).

long and 10 wide, and along the greater part of it there is a range of low hills. It is well populated, and contains many villages, and its people are keen and intelligent traders, who unite in themselves the best commercial instincts of the Arabs, Persians, and local seafaring folk. Bahrên is one of the two chief centres of the pearl trade,¹ and during the few hours we stopped there many merchants came on board with collections of pearls for sale. The black pearls in the possession of one man were the largest and most beautiful I had ever seen, and they ranged in price from £50 to £100. The views which the Arabs held about the origin of the pearl are set forth by Mas'ûdî (i, 328-330). He says that the pearl-fishers live on fish and dates. They split the lower part of their ears to facilitate respiration, and stop their nostrils with tortoise-shell, and their ears with wool steeped in oil; at the bottom of the sea they squeeze out some of this oil, and it serves them for a light. They smear their feet and their legs with some dark substance which makes the sea monsters take to flight, and they communicate with each other at the bottom of the sea by means of cries which resemble the barking of dogs.

Many writers have held the opinion that Bahrên was the original home of the Phœnicians, but whether this be so or not, it is certain that the objects which have been found there suggest that some highly civilized race lived there in very early times, perhaps even in Babylonian times. Colonel Sir E. C. Ross, British Resident in the

¹ When the pearling boat is anchored at a suitable place "the crew is divided into two portions; one remains in the boat to receive the oysters and haul up the divers, the others strip naked and jump into the sea. A small basket, capable of holding from eight to ten oysters, is then handed to them, and suspended to their left arm. The nostrils are then closed with a piece of elastic horn, the diver places his foot on a stone attached to a cord, inhales a long breath, and upon raising his right arm as a signal, the rope is immediately let go, and he sinks to the bottom. After collecting as many as are within his reach, he jerks the line, and is drawn at once to the surface. Forty seconds is the average, and one minute and thirty-five seconds the ultimatum which they can remain below."—Wellsted, *Travels* i, 121.

Persian Gulf from 1872 to 1891, examined the Island on several occasions, and believed that systematic excavations would throw great light on its early history. Before his retirement he tried to get the British Government to make trial excavations, but the scheme failed because no one suitable could be found to undertake the work. In 1889 Mr. J. T. Bent visited the Bahrên group of islands, and excavated some tombs,¹ but difficulties arose between himself and the natives, and as he did not feel able to cope with them successfully he abandoned the work. He was fully convinced by his excavations that Bahrên was the primitive home of the Phœnician race. Sir E. C. Ross, whose knowledge of the history of 'Ummân and of the tribes of Arabia and the Makrân coast was unrivalled, assigned to the earliest inhabitants of Bahrên an antiquity greater than that of the Phœnicians.

Eight hours' steaming brought us to Abû Shâhar, or Bushire,² the "Port of Shîrâz," as it is well named. It is almost surrounded by the sea, but large ships are obliged to lie about two miles from the town. Its inhabitants are actively engaged in commerce, and its imports and exports are considerable. Much of its importance is due to the fact that the Indo-European Telegraph Company have a large station here. A few miles from the town are the ruins of an Elamite city, and large numbers of bricks with cuneiform inscriptions on their edges are found there. As the Resident, Colonel Sir E. C. Ross, was absent, I could not present Rawlinson's letter to him, and as without his help I could not successfully visit the ruins of the old town, I abandoned the idea of doing so, and hoped for better luck later on. As the pirates of the Makrân coast had been giving a good deal of trouble, and plundering and sinking native craft, the British men-of-war, the "Ranger," the "Osprey" and

¹ See his paper, *The Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf*, "Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.", New Ser., xii, 1. (London, 1890.)

² See Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, ii, 93; and Wellsted, *Travels*, i, 130.

the "Sphinx," were lying off the town, and their captains very kindly offered to help me in any way they could. The town is dirty and uninviting, but in looking at it from a distance the air-towers are impressive. Some of them are very lofty, and are of considerable size, and they are so constructed that they catch every wind that blows and drive it downward into the houses, which are much cooler than those of other towns in the Persian Gulf.

Our stay at Bushire was much curtailed because the captain wished to catch the tide on the bar at Fâw, but he made some miscalculation and failed to do so. We left Bushire at 5 p.m., and arrived at the bar about six the next morning. The wind blew the water off the bar, and after churning sand and water for three hours we stuck fast, and had to wait for the next tide to float us off. Ten hours later we were able to move, and we steamed on to the entrance of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab, which is about 70 miles from Baṣrah. At Fâw we landed a very nice dog for one of the telegraph officials, and the whole ship's company regretted the absence of this most amiable and companionable fellow-passenger. We steamed slowly up the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab, and I greatly enjoyed the change in the scenery, which reminded me strongly of that of Egypt. The vegetation came down to the water's edge, and on each side of the river, as far as the eye could see, were green fields and gardens filled with fruit trees. The palms were beautiful, and they formed a wall of living green on each side of the river. The palm groves were filled with birds of many kinds, and their songs of praise sounded incredibly sweet. We seemed to be steaming through a never-ending garden, and the silence was broken only by the creaking of the machines which watered the gardens and the groves of palms. As the sun set the light tipped the palms with red and gold, and turned the gardens on the east bank into many-coloured paradises. It was easy to see whence Persian and Arab writers obtained the material for their descriptions of enchanted gardens and bowers. When the sun had set the frogs began to croak, and when it became dark their croaking developed into a continuous roar on both sides

of the river, down-stream and up-stream; there must have been myriads of them. We anchored for the night at a place about eight miles from Başrah, and proceeded the next morning in a heavy white fog to the quarantine station. At Muḥammarah we fired a salute in honour of the Shêkh of that Port, and his gunner must have been waiting with the lanyard in his hand, for the return of the salute was fired immediately after ours. The period for quarantine was then seven days, but after a friendly chat in the captain's cabin the doctor and the other official agreed to haul down the yellow flag, provided that the mail-bags and the passengers' baggage were fumigated. These were at once transferred to a lighter, and a piece of ground on the bank having been fenced off, the bags and baggage were landed there. The police kept intruders off with rifles, to which bayonets were fixed. An official set in position a small brazier with a stand over it, and another official poured a little powdered sulphur into the latter, but had to appeal to us for a match with which to light it. None of us had any matches, but a little *bakhshîsh* caused the officer of fumigation to say that it was unnecessary to burn the sulphur. All the same, each box or trunk was solemnly lifted on the stand and as solemnly lifted off, and with the politeness, of which only a Turk of the "old school" is the true possessor, the quarantine official declared that we might remove our baggage. The other official carefully poured the sulphur back into his box, and the ceremony of fumigation was complete.

Al-Başrah, also known as Basra, Bassora, Bassorah, Balsora, Balsorah, Bulsorah, Busra, Busrah (in Syria Başrâ or Bûsrâ) is a small but important town which stands on the west bank of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab, and is about 70 miles from Fâw, 38 miles from Kurnah (the point where the Tigris and Euphrates join) and 300 miles from Baghdâd as the crow flies, but 520 miles by river. Başrah derives its name from the whitish grey pebbles which are, or were, so abundant in its neighbourhood. According to Mas'ûdî (iv, 225), the city was founded by 'Otba, the son of 'Azwân, who was sent to the country of

To face p. 164, vol. i.



The Creek at Başrah.

Baṣrah by 'Omar, A.H. 14 (=A.D. 635), but some say that it was not founded until A.H. 16 (=A.D. 637), after the expedition to Takrīt. When 'Otba arrived in the country of Baṣrah it was called the "Land of India," and it was covered with whitish grey stones. He began to build at a place called "Al-Khurêbah," *i.e.*, the "Little Ruin," a fact which suggests that 'Otba only rebuilt some ancient city in the interest of the Arabs. He probably refounded Baṣrah just as Sa'ad, the son of Waḳḳâs, refounded Kûfah, on the Euphrates, about the same time. The Arabs must have met with great opposition from the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, for at the Battle of the Camel (A.H. 35 = A.D. 656) he lost 13,000 men, and Ṭalhah and Zubêr, Companions of the Prophet, were slain. The old town of Baṣrah, or the "town of Zubêr" as it was called, stood about ten miles from the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab, and had a canal on each side of it. The entrance to the canal on its north side was at Ma'kîl, and the entrance to that on its south side was at Ubullah, where, in fact, the modern town now stands. The form of the town was, roughly, rectangular. Between the time of its founding and the fifteenth century Baṣrah was attacked by enemies on several occasions, and many parts of it were burnt or otherwise destroyed.¹ In the tenth century it possessed a public library, which was provided with endowments for poor students, and for the payment of scribes who copied books for the library. In the thirteenth century Baṣrah, or Pêrâth Maishân, as ecclesiastical writers call it, was the seat of a bishop, and in 1222 the see was held by one Solomon, a native of Akhlât or Khilât, in Armenia, whose "Book of the Bee" I edited in 1886.² When Pietro della Valle visited Baṣrah the Christians of Saint John had a settlement there.³

¹ See G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 45.

² See also Assemâni, *B. O.*, t. iii, p. i, p. 309.

³ Their correct name is "Mandæans." The name "Christians of Saint John" (Christiani S. Joannis) was brought into Europe by the Portuguese monks early in the seventeenth century. A number of Mandæans who had joined the Roman Catholic Church visited Rome

When I first visited Başrah it was a town of great commercial activity, and the place was considered sufficiently important to justify the presence of the broken-backed Turkish man-of-war which lay in the river near the south-east end of the town. There was a weekly mail to and from India, and a weekly mail to and from Baghdâd. Başrah and Ma'kîl were usually crowded with small native craft, and in the date season many large steamers from England and India were to be seen there. Several European firms had branch houses there, but many of their most disinterested efforts to increase the trade of the Port were frustrated by the stupid regulations of the Turkish officials. Here is a case in point. There was at one time a considerable export trade in horses from Başrah. The Indian horse-dealers used to go up to Baghdâd, and then on to Takrît, and buy up horses and take them down the river to Başrah, where they were embarked on the British-India steamers for Bombay. The trade was profitable for all concerned, but suddenly the Turks prohibited the export of horses. However, it did not take the horse-dealers long to find a way to overcome the difficulty. They marched their horses down the Tigris, on the east bank of the river, to Muḥammarah, the Persian port on the Kârûn, about ten miles down-stream of Başrah, and shipped them by

between 1650 and 1660, and they told Abraham Echellensis that their people in Mesopotamia called themselves "Nâsôrâyê dhé Yahyâ," i.e., "Christians of Yahyâ," i.e., "Christians of John." Yahyâ is the name by which John the Baptist is mentioned in the Qur'ân (Surah III, 34-41). The history, religion and literature of this remarkable Semitic people are fully described by Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und das Ssabismus*, Petersburg, 1856; Pietro della Valle, Lettera X, vol. ii, p. 819 ff.; Ignatius a Jesu, *Narratio Originis, Rituum, et Errorum Christianorum Sancti Joannis*, Rome, 1652; Boullaye Le Gouz, *Voyage*, Paris, 1652; Thévenot, *Suite du Voyage*, Paris, 1674; Petermann, *Reisen*, Leipzig, 1860, vol. ii, p. 83 ff., 447 ff.; Siouffi, *Etudes sur la religion des Soubbas ou Sabéens*, Paris, 1880; Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889; *Mandäische Schriften*, Göttingen, 1893; Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, vol. i, Giessen, 1905; Petermann, *Thesaurus sive Liber Magnus*, Leipzig, 1867; Euting, *Qalasta*, Stuttgart, 1867; the *Einleitung* to Nöldeke's *Mandäische Grammatik*, Halle, 1875, etc.

the British-India steamers just the same, and almost in sight of the Turkish officials.

The modern town of Başrah is said to be six miles long and four broad, and it has five gates, viz., the Gate of Rubât, the Gate of Baghdâd, the Gate of Zubêr, the Gate of Sarâjî, and the Gate of Majmû'a. The business quarter of the town is reached by boats viâ "Başrah Creek," parts of which pass through pretty gardens and green fields; in fact the gardens seem to be the chief feature of the town. The old factory of the East India Company still stands, some parts of it being used as Government offices. The town itself is a miserable place, and every purely native part of it suffers from the "blight of the Turk." The Turks have been in possession of Başrah for about 250 years, and they have done nothing to increase the business or wealth of the town. They have been content literally to "sit at the receipt of custom."

On arriving in Başrah I heard that the steamer for Baghdâd would leave in the evening, and I therefore removed my baggage to the Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company's steamer "Medjidiah," and made the acquaintance of her commander, Captain E. Cowley, and secured my berth. I then went to present letters to the British Consul, Mr. Robertson, who was living in a house with a beautiful garden on the river bank. He received me kindly, and discussed the object of my Mission at great length, and made many valuable suggestions. He told me that a considerable trade had sprung up in antiquities, and that there were several houses both in Başrah and Baghdâd which regularly exported tablets, cylinders, etc., to their London agents, and that the cases which contained the antiquities were brought to Başrah by the Turkish Government steamers, which ran between Baghdâd and Başrah. I found that Mr. Robertson was personally interested in the history and antiquities of the region where he was stationed, and that he had ridden about the country and visited many of the ancient sites in Lower Mesopotamia. He said that when he was at Tall Loh, on the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥayy, he saw many

headless statues of early Babylonian kings standing there, and he asked why the British Museum Agent had failed to get a permit to excavate the site.¹ He had also explored the ruins of "Shushan the Palace" (Susa),² which are near Shushtar,³ on the Kârûn,⁴ and had seen the massive bronze bull capitals of the pillars of the palace there *in situ*, and he urged me to write to the Principal Librarian and get funds to excavate Susa without delay. I wrote, in accordance with his suggestion, but the Trustees decided that it would be better to clear out Nineveh completely before beginning a new site. Three years later I again raised the question, and the Trustees were disposed to attack Susa, but the Treasury declined to find the necessary money, and the bull capitals and all else went to the Louvre.

Before we finished our conversation, which was taking place in the garden, it began to rain suddenly and heavily, and Mr. Robertson hurried me into his boat and sent me to the steamer, but before I reached it the rowers and myself were wet through. In a very few minutes a violent storm, with thunder and lightning, was raging, and it went on for hours. So violent a wind was blowing that the captain decided not to leave Başrah that night, and, having taken down all awnings and unshipped all movable gear, he sat down and waited for the morning. It was the worst land storm I had ever experienced, and for the first time I understood how it was that the "Tigris" was wrecked on the Euphrates in the Chesney Expedition.⁵ The waves on the river were five feet high at least, and they dashed over the banks and flooded the town. The rain fell violently and steadily all night, and there were frequent storms of thunder and lightning. In

¹ See Mr. Rassam's account of the reasons why he failed to obtain a permit to dig at Tall Loh in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. viii, pp. 193, 194.

² See Esther i, 5, Nehemiah i, 1, Daniel viii, 2. Shushan, *i.e.*, Sûsan, is also called 'Arûj and Jâbalak. See le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 245.

³ Or, Shustar. The Arabs call the town "Tustar."

⁴ The Dujayl of Arab writers.

⁵ See Ainsworth, W. F., *Personal Narrative*, vol. i, 1888, p. 387 ff.

the morning the Shatt al-'Arab was a raging sea, and Captain Cowley decided to remain another day in Başrah. We left the following morning at seven o'clock, but though the tide was in our favour we did not arrive at Kûrnah until two o'clock—in other words it took us seven hours to cover thirty-eight miles.

The little town of Kûrnah stands on a point of land, and the Tigris¹ flows on the east side and the Euphrates² on the west, and immediately to the south of it the two great rivers mingle their waters. Of its history nothing is known, for none of the Arab geographers mentions it,³ but several European travellers in Mesopotamia in the sixteenth century knew the town by its present name, as their words leave no doubt that they are referring to one and the same place. Thus Master Cesar Frederick, who went to the East Indies viâ Baghdâd and Başrah in 1563, says: "A daye's journey before you come to "Basora you shall have a little castle or fort, which is set "on that point of land where the rivers of Euphrates and "Tigris meet together, and the castle is called 'Corno.'"" Gasparo Balbi, a Venetian jeweller, who set out for the East from Aleppo on December 13th, 1579, relates that they "entred Corno, and a little beyond encountred a "piece of Euphrates joyning with Tigris, where abide "many souldiers with a *Saniak*⁴ to prevent theeves, which

¹ The Babylonians and Assyrians called the Tigris "I-di-ik-lat," 𒌦 𒅗 𒌦 𒅗 𒌦 𒅗 (see the equation, $\text{𒌦 𒅗 𒌦 𒅗 𒌦 𒅗} = \text{𒌦 𒅗 𒌦 𒅗 𒌦 𒅗}$, "Rawlinson, Cuneiform Inscriptions," II, pl. 50, 7d), the Hebrews "Hiddekel," הַדְּכֶל (Gen. ii, 14), and the Persians "Tigrâ," تِغْرِا .

² The Babylonians and Assyrians called the Euphrates "Pu-rat-ta" 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 , or "Pu-rat-tu" 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 , the Hebrews "Pêrâth" פְּרָת (Gen. ii, 14), and the Persians "Ufrâtu" اُفْرَات . The Sumerian PU-RA NU-NU 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 , "great river" (Rawlinson, "Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. v, pll. 22, 31), finds its equivalent in $\text{הַנָּהָר הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה הַנִּהְרָה הַזֶּה}$, "the great river, the river Pêrâth" (Gen. xv, 18).

³ Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 42.

⁴ Hakluyt, *Collection*, London, 1810, p. 341.

⁵ Turkish *منجوق*.

"by hundreds in a companie use to robbe."¹ John Newberie, "Citizen and Merchant of London, desirous to see the world," who passed through Baghdād and down the Tigris in the year 1581, says: "in the evening (April 30th) we came to Gurna, which is a Castle, and standeth upon the Point where the river of Furro (Euphrates) and the River of Bagdet (Tigris) doe meet."² John Eldred (1583) tells us that Kûrnah was a Customs House, thus: Before we come to Balsara [Baṣrah] by one dayes iourney, the two rivers of Tigris and Euphrates meet, and there standeth a Castle called Curna, kept by the Turks, where all marchants pay a small custome.³ Local tradition states that Kûrnah is the site of the Garden of Eden, but this, of course, is impossible, because it is perfectly certain that the conformation of this part of Lower Babylonia is very different from what it was in ancient times. The gardens along the Ubullah Canal, which ran on the south-east side of Baṣrah, were considered to form one of the Four Earthly Paradises, and it is possible that in some way the gardens of Kûrnah, which are beautiful in the spring, have become confounded with the gardens of Baṣrah in popular imagination. Just opposite Kûrnah Point, on the east bank of the river, the wreck of the great rafts of the French Government took place in 1849. These rafts were loaded with many tons of sculptures and bas-reliefs, and scores of cases of small objects from the palace of Sargon II, at Khorsabad, which had been excavated by Botta, Flandin and others. When they reached Kûrnah, and were about to pass into the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab, a mighty storm of wind, followed by torrential rain, fell upon them suddenly, and drove the rafts one against the other with such force that the ropes which held their framework together broke, and the inflated skins were crushed, and the heavy slabs of stone and the boxes slipped into the river, and were lost.

¹ "Purchas and his Pilgrimes," London, 1625, p. 1723.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1412.

³ Hakluyt, *Collection*, London, 1810, p. 404.

A little before sunset we passed the village of 'Uzêr, on the west bank, and the famous tomb of 'Uzêr, or Ezra, the great scribe, which has been a recognized place of pilgrimage for Jews for centuries. One tradition says that Ezra was buried in Jerusalem,¹ but other traditions state that he died either at Babylon or at a place called Zamzumu, on the Lower Tigris, whilst he was travelling to Persia in order to comfort and sustain his fellow-countrymen who were in that country. Kazwîni, who flourished at the close of the thirteenth century,² says that the tomb was served by Jews, and that it was renowned throughout the country as a shrine where prayers were answered. I thought it very doubtful if the pretty building which I saw, with its beautifully inlaid tiles, was ancient, but there is no doubt that the site upon which it stands has been holy ground for a couple of thousands of years. The tomb of Ezra is mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela,³ but naturally he gives no description of it, and there is great difficulty in identifying the place to which he alludes when speaking of it. The tomb as it existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century is carefully described by Rich,⁴ and the

¹ Josephus, *Antiquities*, xi, 5, 5.

² Quoted by le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³ He says it is on the river Samôrâh, סמורא (Heb. text, p. 73, ed. Asher). See also the remarks by Asher on p. 151.

⁴ See *Residence in Koordistan*, ii, 389, "The 27th, in the evening, we came to a place of pilgrimage of the Jews. It is a building like a mosque, on a promontory formed by a circular sweep of the river, which winds much in this part. A few Arabs have collected about it, and formed a small village of reed huts. It is on the right bank of the river. It is surrounded by a wall, with battlements, the dome or cupola is covered with green, glazed tiles, and surmounted by an ornament of brass, representing an open hand encircled with rays of glory. On entering the gate, we passed through a small courtyard, and then entered a large, gloomy hall, arched and supported by square masses of brickwork, totally destitute of any ornament. From this we entered by a low door into the chamber which contains the object of the Jews' religious veneration. The room is vaulted, with small grated windows placed at a great height, and paved with tiles of white and green alternately disposed. In a small niche there was a lamp burning. In the centre of the room stood the tomb, which was oblong,

building and tomb-chamber as they now are form the subjects of some interesting paragraphs in a recent number of *Blackwood's Magazine* (October, 1917, p. 538). The writer says: "The chamber is about 30 ft. square, with white walls, decorated with inscriptions and arabesques in dazzling blue, yellow and red, most bewildering to the eye: the floor is of coloured marble slabs, at the angles of which small squares of black stone or marble are let in. In the centre of the room, directly under the dome, is the tomb proper. All that could be seen was a wooden ark, about $15 \times 7 \times 5$ feet, covered with a green cloth suspended from four silver-topped posts at the four corners." Of the outside the writer says: "The drum is decorated with slender spirals of yellow and blue and red tiles, which end in a broad band of deep primrose yellow; from this springs the dome in perfect curves, a blend of every shade from sea-green, through lilac and mauve and blue, to a deep, iridescent purple."

On the following day our progress was very slow, and the current was thought to be running at the rate of 7 or 8 knots an hour. In the 'Amârah reach the steamer did little more than maintain her position, especially when she had to leave her course to avoid collision with native craft and huge rafts, made of reeds piled up to a height of 12 or 15 feet, which were driving down the river out of all control. The reeds which form these rafts are cut in the upper country, and tied in large bundles. The bundles are thrown into the water near the bank, and roped firmly together until they form a rectangular raft about 60 feet long and 20 feet broad. This raft is kept close to the bank by means of

with a slanting roof, made of wood, and covered with green velvet. The dimensions were about 8 feet by 4, and 6 high to the ridge of the roof, with a passage of about 3 feet between it and the walls of the room. Its corners and tops were ornamented with large balls of copper gilt. The person, an Arab, who showed us the tomb, told us that it was of Ezra, whom the Mahometans call Ozeir, and make him out the nephew of Moses. He further informed us that a Jew, by name Khoph Yakooob, erected the present building over it about thirty years ago."



The Tomb of Ezra.

ropes fastened to stakes driven into the ground. Then more bundles of reeds are laid on, each being tied to the other, and this process is repeated until the mass of bundles of reeds is 12 or 15 feet high. Two men, provided with axes, then mount the raft, taking with them a supply of provisions, and when the final ropes are fixed the anchoring ropes are let go, and several men push the mass out into the stream as far towards the middle as possible. The raft is thus carried down the river, and when it reaches the country below Başrah the men on it cut the ropes which hold the bundles together, and they fall into the stream. Natives of the various villages then swim out and drag the bundles ashore, and when dried they make the reeds into baskets. For safety the men on such rafts often rope three or four of them together, and then the rafts go down stream in a sort of procession and are a real danger to small craft which cannot get out of their way. I saw one such procession foul the Turkish man-of-war at Başrah, and they blocked the river for several hours. The British bluejackets from the "Sphinx" went and boarded the rafts, and cut the ropes which held the bundles together, and for some time afterwards no more processions of rafts tried to float past Başrah.

We stopped for several hours at 'Amârah, on the east bank, and crowds of natives came on board "to look round." The little town has not much in it to interest the visitor, but as caravans start from it for Lûristân and Khûzistân, a great many varieties of mountain men from the north and east are to be seen there, and their features and dress are full of interest. When we started again the river was higher than ever, and at the bend by Imâm 'Alî ash-Sharîf (east bank) the whole country on both banks was covered with water. In the distance we could see the Arabs with their wives and children and sheep, standing on any slight rise in the ground, with the water almost lapping their feet. The sky was covered with heavy, angry-looking grey clouds, and the wind was bitterly cold, and they must have suffered much. The Hamrîn range of mountains, capped with snow, far away

to the north-east, formed a striking but not warming feature of the scenery. Near Mandalyât, which stands on both banks, we passed the mouth of a large canal, which was connected with the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥayy, and was pouring an immense stream of water into the Tigris. Here, driven on to the west bank by the current, was one of the steamers of the Baghdâd Government, with a smashed paddle-wheel, and it was dangerous to go near her.

In due course we reached Kûṭ al-'Amârah, a town on the east bank (at the bifurcation of the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥayy and the present bed of the Tigris), which stands nearly opposite to the place where the famous town of Mâdharâyâ¹ stood in the tenth century. The great Nahrawân Canal, which took off from the Tigris a little below Takrît, and watered all the country on the east bank of the Tigris for nearly two hundred miles, re-entered the Tigris at this place. Nearly opposite to Kûṭ al-'Amârah is the entrance to the stream now called the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥayy. Owing to the breakdown of the dyke system of the Tigris in the fifth century, the Tigris left its bed at this point and flowed down the large canal, now called the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥayy, until it reached the Great Swamp,² 200 miles long and 50 broad, the southern end of which was close to Baṣrah. Thus the present course of the Tigris remained unused for several hundreds of years, probably until the end of the fifteenth century. About this time the bed of the channel leading to the Great Swamp became silted up, and boats from Baghdâd to Baṣrah could not make their passage, and that route was abandoned. Merchants then adopted the route to Baṣrah by the old easterly course of the Tigris, and, as we have already seen,³ European travellers used it freely during the latter half of the sixteenth century. We found the town of Kûṭ al-'Amârah dirty and uninteresting, for though there are many mosques in it, they are all small and unimportant. The bazâr was small, but

¹ See Yâkût, iv, p. 381.

² See le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

³ See above, pp. 169, 170.

I noticed that in one shop there were many specimens of the pretty silver work made by the so-called Christians of St. John. The town is 100 miles from Baghdád by direct road (and the road is a good one), and 140 miles by river.¹

The Tigris between Kût al-'Amârah and Baghdád is full of windings, but the volume of water in the river was so great that many of them practically disappeared. We moved very slowly, and in trying to take a "short cut" we ran on a mud bank, where we stuck for seven hours. Just before we reached the ruins of the cities of Al-Madáin Captain Cowley was good enough to stop the steamer so that I might land and visit the ruins, and walk across the neck of the great bend which the river makes

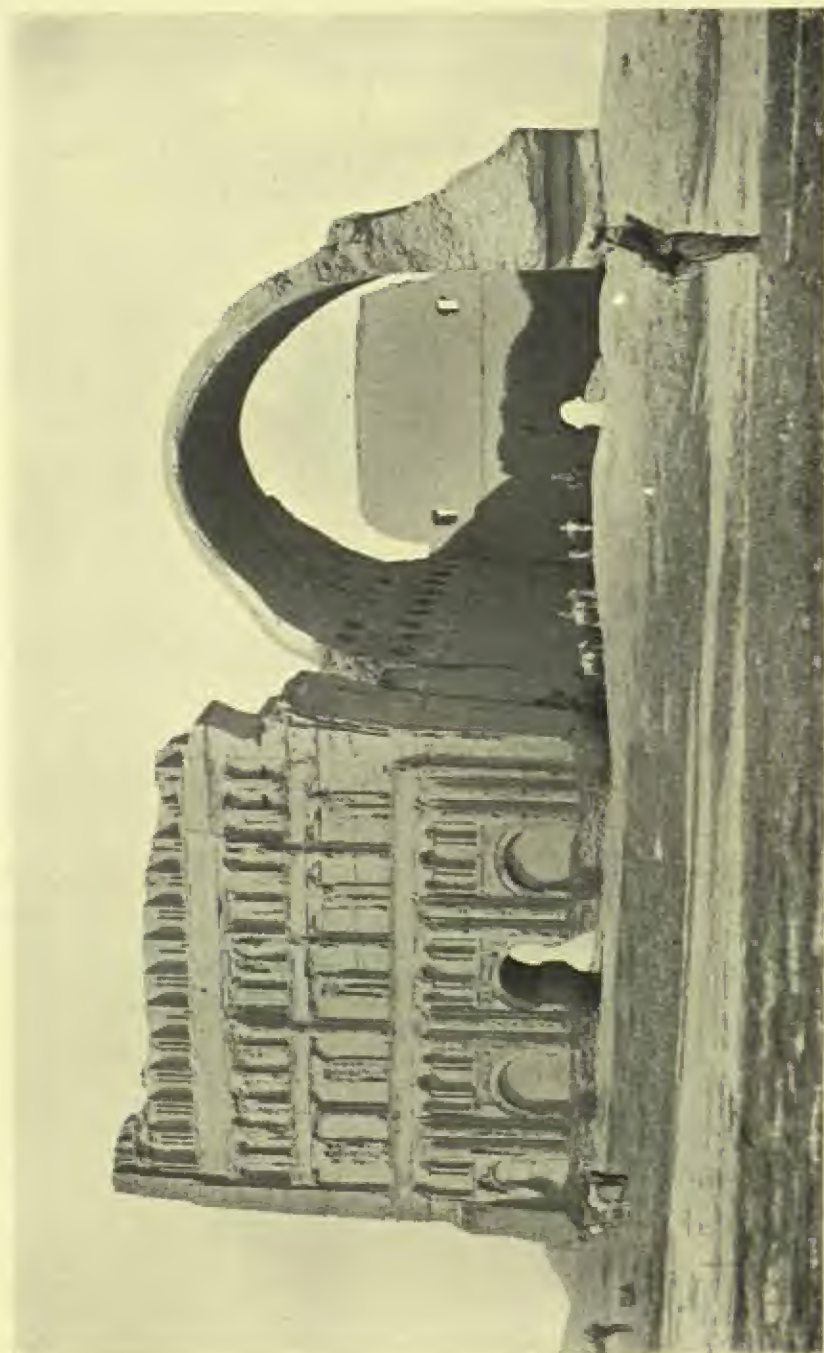
¹ At the end of February, with the help of a high river, the famous ruins of Tall Lôh, which mark the site of the ancient city of Lagash, may be reached in two or two and a half days. They lie on the east bank of the Shaṭṭ al-Hayy, about 3 miles from the river, which flows round their north and west sides; their distance from Kût al-'Amârah is about 70 miles. M. de Sarzec, the French Consul at Basrah, carried on excavations in the mounds of Tall Lôh between 1877 and 1883, and discovered a large group of very important historical documents and statues. Facsimiles and descriptions of these have appeared in his great work, *Les Découvertes*, 2 volumes, folio, the first part of which appeared in 1884. After he abandoned the site the natives continued to excavate many of the smaller mounds which he had left untouched, and they found many tablets. A little to the south of Tall Lôh, the Shaṭṭ al-Hayy forks, and it is advisable to travel by the branch which flows to the east of the marshes, and empties itself into the Euphrates, about 15 miles above Sûk ash-Shuyûkh. Almost due south of the spot where the Shaṭṭ al-Hayy joins the Euphrates lie the ruins of the ancient city of Ur, now called Mukayyar; they are on the southern bank of the Euphrates, about 4 miles from the river. About 8 miles to the south-east of Mukayyar are the ruins of the very ancient city of Eridu, now called Abû Shahrên. A part of the site was excavated by Taylor (see *Jnl. R. Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xv, p. 304), and more extensive excavations, on behalf of the British Museum, were carried out there by Mr. R. C. Thompson in 1918, and Mr. H. R. Hall in 1919. The information supplied by the cuneiform inscriptions suggests that at one time this city stood on the shore of the sea which is now called the Persian Gulf, or at least close to some arm of the sea which was connected with it. Sûk ash-Shuyûkh, or the "Market of the Shékhs," is a large town and a very important trade centre; it is from 70 to 75 miles from Kûrnah and about 115 from Basrah.

at this place, and rejoin the steamer some hours later at the northern end of the bend. Mr. Svoboda,¹ Captain Somerset, and I landed at Sûr al-Bustân, and whilst Mr. Svoboda left us to shoot in the thickets by the river, Captain Somerset and I went off to examine the sites and ruins of Ctesiphon and Al-Madâin. Just as Seleucia outrivalled Babylon, so these cities usurped the power and importance of Seleucia,² the site of which was visible on the west bank of the river from where we stood. Nothing remains of the city of Ctesiphon,³ although the great arched building, "The Hall of Chosroes," which stands to the south of its site and was in Ashânbur, is commonly called the "Arch of Ctesiphon" to this day. The explanation of this is simple. One of the Sassanian princes built in Ctesiphon a magnificent palace, which Arab writers call Al-Kaṣr al-Abyaḍ, or the "White Palace," but this stood in Al-Madīnah al-'Atīkah, or the "Old City," about one mile to the north of Al-Madâin. The White Palace was destroyed, and all traces of it had disappeared by the tenth century, but people gave the name of "White Palace" to the great

¹ A descendant of the Austrian gentleman, resident in Baghdād, who is so often mentioned by the missionary, Mr. A. N. Groves, in his *Journal of a Residence at Bagdad during the years 1830 and 1831*, London, 1832.

² Seleucia was built by Seleucus Nicator on the west bank of the Tigris in the angle formed by the famous canal of Nebuchadnezzar, the Nahr Malkā, at its junction with the Tigris. To distinguish it from other towns of the same name it was called *Σελείκεια ἐπὶ τοῦ Τύγγρος* (Appian, Syr. 57) or "Seleucia on the Tigris." Seleucus built his city with bricks from Babylon, and it soon occupied both banks of the Nahr Malkā and flourished greatly. As it prospered Babylon declined. Trajan's generals burnt a part of it to the ground, and during the reign of Lucius Verus it was completely destroyed (A.D. 162). When Severus came there he found the place a ruin like Babylon, only far less extensive.

³ The city of Ctesiphon is said by Ammianus to have been founded by a Parthian called Vardanes, or Varanes, who chose for it a site on the east bank of the Tigris, about three miles north of Seleucia. The Parthian kings made Ctesiphon their winter residence, and the city grew and flourished until the fall of the Parthian dynasty about A.D. 226. Some identify Ctesiphon with the Kāsifyā ܟܫܝܝܐ of Ezra viii, 17.



Ruins of the Takht-i-Khusrau ("Throne of Chosroes") or Tak-i-Khusrau (Arch of Chosroes), commonly called the "Arch of Chosroes."



ruin which stood a mile to the south of the site where the true "White Palace" had stood, and forgot that it had ever existed. Arab writers and others perpetuated the mistake, and called the ruin in Ashânbur the "White Palace" and "Hall of Chosroes" indifferently.¹ Apparently they did not realize that Ashânbur and Ctesiphon were two quite distinct places, and, once having called the "Hall of Chosroes" the "White Palace," it was easy to assume that Ashânbur was Ctesiphon, and to call the ruin there the "Arch of Ctesiphon."²

When the Sassanians (A.D. 226-651) founded their dynasty, the first of this line of Persian kings built a new capital a little to the south of Ctesiphon, and this is commonly called Al-Madâin,³ *i.e.*, "The Cities."⁴ To the south-east of this city Sapor began to build the famous Êwân Kisrâ, ایوان کسری, which must have been a very large and magnificent palace, and it was finished by Aberwîz, the son of Hôrmîzd. The Sassanian city grew and flourished, and during the four centuries of its existence a large proportion of the riches of the eastern world accumulated in it. Its wealth was enormous, for when the Arabs under Sa'ad⁵ sacked it, each of his 60,000 soldiers received as his share of the plunder 12,000 *darâhim*.⁶

All that is left of the splendid Sassanian palace in Ashânbur is the fine ruin, which is generally known as the "Arch of Ctesiphon," but which is properly called "Takht-i-Khusrau," *i.e.*, "Throne of Chosroes," or

¹ See le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

² The name of Ctesiphon and the Arabic Taysafûn are probably forms of the Persian name of the Sassanian capital.—Le Strange, *ibid.*, p. 33.

³ See Yâkût, iv, 445; Al-Bakri, pp. 340, 799, 849; and Abû 'l-Fidâ, p. 313.

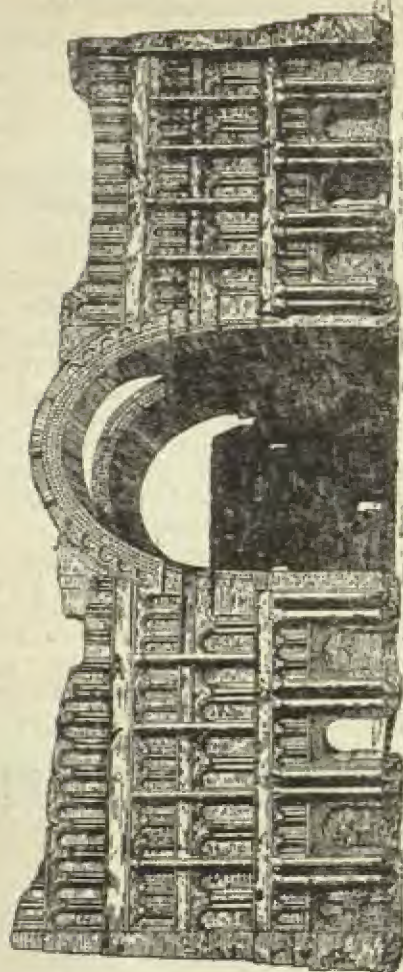
⁴ They were said to be *seven* in number, but le Strange, following Ya'kûbî, mentions *five* only, viz., the Old Town (Ctesiphon), Ashânbur, Rûmîyah, Bahurasîr (Bih-Ardashîr), and Sâbât (Balâsâbâd).

⁵ See Ibn al-Athîr, ed. Tornberg, i, pp. 342-346, 364-366; ii, 393-398.

⁶ The dirham, a silver coin, was one-eighth of an ounce in weight; 20 or 25 *dirâhim* = 1 gold *dînâr* (about half a sovereign).

"Tak-i-Khusrau," i.e., "Arch of Chosroes." I was quite familiar with the general appearance of the brickwork ruin from the small but clear outline sketches of it published by Felix Jones and others,¹ and from the descriptions of it given by earlier travellers, and I was therefore much surprised at the actual state of the famous "Arch" as I saw it. The great semicircular arch, nearly 100 feet in height, and having a span of about 80 feet, was in a comparatively good state of preservation, and looked as if it might stand for scores of years more. Of the two wings, or buildings, which stood one on each side of the arch, one had fallen down (probably about 1883), and its remains lay there in heaps of broken bricks. The remaining wing (i.e., the southern), which was about 120 feet high and 40 feet long, was much battered, and in many places there were evidences that the seekers after bricks had given it their baneful attention. But in spite of all the damage which this extraordinary building had suffered, and the loss of one of its wings, the remains of the "Arch" were most impressive. There was a boldness and a vigour in its conception which I had not been led to associate with ancient buildings in that part of the world. And I could well believe that when the recesses of the pillars and arches which decorated its main front (the eastern) were filled in with white marble, its size and splendour and magnificence must have astonished the native Babylonians (who were only accustomed to the sight of walls and towers of heavy, solid brickwork in their royal buildings), and excited the wonder even of the ancient art-loving Persians. Every brick that I could see in it was well shaped and well baked, and the average size of the bricks in all parts of the "Arch" that we could examine was about 1 foot square and nearly 3 inches thick. For details of the decoration of the façade, and measurements of the "Arch" when in a more com-

¹ See the careful drawings of it to scale given by Flandin and Coste *Voyage en Perse*, text-vol., p. 174 f., and plates 216-218 (in vol. iv), folio, Paris [no date]. Flandin says that the whole façade was 83 metres long, and that the height of the Arch was 28 metres.



The Arch of Ctesiphon as it appeared at the time of Flandin and Coste.

plete state of preservation, the reader is referred to the works of Pietro della Valle,¹ Ker Porter,² and Buckingham.³ Leaving the façade of the "Arch," we passed inside the building, which extended westward for more than 150 feet, and then realized for the first time that the so-called "Arch" was nothing more or less than the roof of the great central hall of the palace, which was probably used by Nûshîrwân as a reception room or a state dining-

¹ "L'Aïuan Kesra adunque . . . è una fabbrica grande, fatta tutta di mattoni cotti e buona calce, con muraglie grossissime, e rivolta con la faccia all' oriente; e la sua facciata, che è lavorata d'alto a basso con mille scompartimenti dei medesimi mattoni, è lunga da cento e quattordici passi de' miei. Avea, come apparisce, tre navi, all' uso delle chiese nostre; delle quali, quella di mezzo sola resta in piedi, ed è lunga sessantadue passi de' miei, e larga trentatrè . . . tutta la nave di mezzo, quanto è larga ed alta, è aperta, di maniera che di fuori si vede tutta dentro fin in cima; la qual cosa ha dato occasione ai paesani, di chiamar questa fabbrica, l'arco: perchè, con la sua gran vólta, aperta dinanzi, rappresenta appunto la figura di un grande arco."—Lettera XVII (Edition Gancia, 1843, vol. i, p. 393). According to a local tradition, the site of the den of lions into which Daniel was thrown is near the Arch of Ctesiphon!

² Ker Porter (*Travels*, ii, 409) describes the ruin as a façade 284 feet long, divided in the middle by a lofty semicircular arch. Span of arch, 82 feet 5 in.; height, 100 feet; depth of hall, 153 feet; walls, 19 feet thick, with solid piers or buttresses 25 feet thick.

³ Buckingham (*Travels*, ii, 456) says the ruin is "composed of two wings, and one large central hall, extending all the depth of the building. Its front is nearly perfect, being about 260 feet in length, and upwards of 100 feet in height. Of this front, the great arched hall occupies the centre. The arch is thus about 90 feet in breadth, and rising above the general line of the front, is at least 120 feet high, while its depth is at least equal to its height. The walls which form these wings were built on the inclined slope, being 20 feet thick at the base, and only 10 at the summit. The masonry is altogether of burnt bricks, several with a green vitrification on their outer surface, but none with writing or impressions of any kind upon them. The cement is white lime. The wings have their front divided into two stories, the lower one has large arched recesses, and an arched doorway, each separated from the other by double convex pilasters, or semi-columns, going up nearly half the height of the building, and including, between their divisions, separate compartments of three small recesses each, standing respectively over the larger arched recesses, and arched doorway below. In the second story are double-arched recesses, or two

room. We went into the ruins of the south wing through a lateral door, and it seemed tolerably clear that it originally contained many apartments, which were occupied by great officials, and perhaps also by ladies of the Harim.

We then walked from the ruins of the palace of Chosroes to the tomb of Sulêman Pâk, the barber of Muḥammad the Prophet,¹ but the guardian was "a little sick," and was absent, and nothing but the outside of it was to be

in one compartment, divided from each other by short pilasters, and every pair separated by a longer pilaster reaching to the summit of the building. Next follow, in the third story, compartments of three small concave niches, as if designed for shell or fan tops, each divided from the other by the long pilasters going to the top. And last of all, in the fourth story, is a continued line of still smaller arched niches divided from each other by small double pilasters, the tops of which are now broken. Both these wings are similar in their general design, though not perfectly uniform; but the great extent of the whole front must have produced an imposing appearance when the edifice was perfect; more particularly if the front was once coated, as tradition states it to have been, with white marble, a material of too much value to remain long in its place after the desertion of the city. The arches of the building are all of the Roman form, and the architecture of the same style. The pointed arch is nowhere seen, but a pyramidal termination is given to some long narrow niches of the front, and the pilasters are without pedestals or capitals. The front of the building, though facing immediately towards the Tigris, lies due east by compass."

¹ "The tomb stands in an enclosure about 100 paces square. The edifice over the tomb consists of one domed sanctuary, with a vaulted piazza, and other apartments attached to it. The sanctuary itself is 15 paces square at the base, and its interior walls are faced with coloured tiles. Over this, at the height of about 20 feet, is an octagonal stage, receding within the square, and having its inner surface laid out in Arabic work of small pointed niches, as at the Tomb of Zubêdah. The whole is crowned by a plain but well-proportioned dome, forming altogether a height of from 60 to 70 feet, and is well lighted by open windows at the base of the dome, and coloured glass ones near the octagonal stage of the centre. The tomb was in the centre of this sanctuary, and was nearly an oblong square, railed in by a neat palisade. On the head of it stood a singular tripod, like the European barbers' block, placed on a stand of three legs, hidden by an ample veil of green gauze, worked with stars of gold."—*Buckingham, Travels*, ii, 452.

seen. The courtyard was well built, and as the tomb was, and still is, a popular place of pilgrimage, its revenue must be very considerable.

We rejoined the steamer at the bend of the river, and continued our journey. Soon afterwards we passed the mouth of the Diyâlâ river (east bank) with its bridge of boats; close by at Rishâdâ and Mismâi are ruins which, as some believe, mark the site of Opis.¹ We next passed the Island of Ghurrûb, which was covered with splendid palms and other trees, and then a smaller island, and then, rounding the bend, we entered the Baghdâd reach of the river. We soon came abreast of the Residency of the British Consul-General and the Turkish Government Offices, and tied up at one of the landing-stages on the east bank. A few minutes later crowds of Turkish officials and friends of the passengers and natives of all kinds rushed on board, and the appalling noise and confusion which ensued were indescribable. A Residency official came on board and told me that Colonel W. Tweedie, the Consul-General, had hired a house for me in the town, but it was in the native quarter, and so far from the river front that I declined, on the advice of Captain Cowley, to go there. Whilst I was considering the matter of lodgings (there was at that time no hotel in Baghdâd), I received an invitation from Captain Butterworth, of H.M.I.M.S. "Comet," inviting me to stay on his ship as long as I needed to be in Baghdâd. This invitation was prompted by Mr. Robertson, British Consul at Basrah, who pointed out to Captain Butterworth that the deck of the British gunboat "Comet" was British territory, and that as I should certainly need a place of storage for tablets, the ship would be safer than a house in the city of Baghdâd as a place of deposit for purchases for the British Museum. I accepted the invitation gratefully, and the sailors having transferred me and my bullock-trunks and the box of Tall al-'Amârnah Tablets to a

¹ This is impossible. Opis lay on the west bank of the river, several miles above Baghdâd; see what is said in the second volume.



The Custom House at Baghdād—arrival of a steamer.

"kuffah,"¹ or "asphaltic coracle," we drifted downstream to the "Comet," where Captain Butterworth was awaiting me. This procedure did not please the Customs' officials, several of whom leaped into kuffahs and followed us as fast as their men could row. They overtook us at the gangway ladder, and tried to cut me off from the ship by thrusting their kuffahs in the way; and as some of them jumped on to the rounded edge of my kuffah, and tried to drag out of it my trunks and the box of Tall Al-'Amârnah Tablets, I became anxious lest in the struggle the kuffah should capsize, and the box of tablets be lost in the Tigris. It was this box which caused all the trouble. As soon as the officials saw it they jumped to the conclusion that I was trying to smuggle into Baghdâd a case of whisky, and this they determined to frustrate at all costs. I was told afterwards that the officials turned a blind eye when the spirit smuggled in was brandy, for that was "khôsh dawa," or the "very finest medicine," whilst whisky was only supposed to excite the Turk, and to make him quarrelsome. I shouted to Captain Butterworth to seize the box of tablets, and some of his crew promptly leaped into the kuffahs about the ladder and dragged out the box, and took it on board. At this the uproar increased, and each official abused the other at the top of his voice for letting the box go. Meanwhile the noise had attracted the attention of the people on shore, and presently a high official of Customs appeared in a boat, and asked Captain Butterworth for an explanation of the row. In answer, Captain Butterworth told him that I had brought a case of

¹ The "kuffah" كُفَّة, plur. كُفَّاف or كُفَّاف, is a large basket made of willows and coated with bitumen inside and out. It is perfectly circular, and resembles a large bowl floating on the stream; it is made in all sizes, and some are large enough to hold three horses and several men. The small ones are uncomfortable, but I have journeyed for days in large ones, over the flood waters of the Euphrates round about Babylon, and on the Hindiyah Canal, and slept in them at nights. The advantage of them for a European is that they can be washed out every day, and a clean place for the bed secured. Ker Porter (*Travels*, ii, 260) found them uncomfortable.

Government stores from Egypt to place under his care, and invited him on board the "Comet." After a short interview in the cabin the official returned to his boat, and told his assistants that I was a personal friend of the Consul-General and the Captain, and that I could not possibly want to smuggle whisky, hashish, or pork into the city, and therefore all was well. Many willing hands then took my baggage on board, and, as the Turkish official said, all was well.

At this point I venture to interrupt my personal narrative, and to give in a separate chapter a few notes on the history of the famous city of Baghdâd, and on the great antiquity of its site as a trading centre. The personal narrative is continued on p. 223.

BALDAK, BALDAC, BAUDAS, BABYLON, NEW BABYLON,
BAGDET, BAGHDÂD."¹

"And in Caldee, the chief cytee is Baldak."

SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE.

THE mere name of "Baghdâd" has for eleven and a half centuries stood for glory and power, and splendour and magnificence, both in the East and in the West, and there is reason to believe that a rich and important trading centre has, probably under the same name, occupied its site or its immediate neighbourhood for some thousands of years. The fact that the Babylonians built Bakdada, or possibly the Sumerians, and the Greeks Seleucia and the Parthians Ctesiphon and the Sassanids Al-Madâin, all within a few miles of the great Arab city of Baghdâd, proves that the needs of the population,

¹ Among the authorities on Baghdâd may be mentioned Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Asher, London, 1840; Pietro della Valle, Lettera XVII, in *Viaggi*, ed. Gancia, 2 vols., Brighton, 1845; P. Teixeira, *Voyages*, Paris, 1681; F. Vincenzo Maria, *Il Viaggio all' Indie Orientali*, Venice, 1683; Rauwolf's *Itinerary* (in Ray's *Collection*, London, 1693, chap. viii, p. 179 ff.); Tavernier, *Les Six Voyages*, Utrecht, 1712; J. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, Paris, 1748; C. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam, 1776, and *Reisebeschreibung*, 2 vols., Copenhagen, 1778; Evers, *Journal kept on a journey from Bassora to Baghdad*, London, 1784; de Beauchamp, *Voyage in Journal des Sçavans*, 1785, p. 285; Kinneir, *Geographical Memoirs*, London, 1813, and *Journey through Asia Minor in 1813 and 1814*, London, 1818; Ker Porter, *Travels*, 2 vols., London, 1821; Buckingham, *Travels*, 2 vols., London, 1827; A. N. Groves, *Journal of a Residence in Baghdad in 1830 and 1831*, London, 1832; J. R. Wellsted, *Travels*, London, 1841; Felix Jones, *Government Records* No. XLIII, New Series, Bombay, 1857; Rawlinson, article on Baghdad in *Encyclo. Brit.*, IXth edition; Marco Polo, ed. Yule, 2 vols., London, 1875; Ibn Serapion, ed. Guy le Strange in *Jnl. Royal As. Soc.*, 1895; the descriptions of Baghdâd by Yâkût, Mas'ûdi, and others in their works; and Guy le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford, 1900.

whether Sumerians, or Semites, or Greeks or Persians, demanded the existence of a large town with a central market on or near the site of Baghdād. About the year 1780 a European physician, resident in Baghdād, acquired a Babylonian "boundary stone,"¹ which had been found near the ruins of Ctesiphon. On the upper part of the stone are sculptured figures of gods, and on the lower part is cut an inscription concerning an estate which was situated near the city (𐎶𐎵) of Bak-da-da 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.² The city of Bakdada here referred to no doubt stood near to or on the site of the Baghdād of to-day, and as the inscription on the boundary stone was cut in the twelfth century B.C., that city was in existence about eighteen hundred years before Muḥammad the Prophet was born. The name of the city (𐎶𐎵) under the form Bak-da-du 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 also occurs on a list found on a tablet³ from Nineveh, which was inscribed in the seventh century B.C., and may well have been a copy of a very much older list. In the year 1848, at a period when the river Tigris was abnormally low, Rawlinson observed some bricks stamped with the name and titles of Nebuchadnezzar II (B.C. 605-558), built into a quay wall on the western bank. Some have argued from this that Nebuchadnezzar II either built or repaired the quay wall of a great city which stood on the site on which the Arabs built the oldest part of their city in the second half of the eighth century. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the quay wall may have been repaired at a much later date, and that the bricks may have been brought to Baghdād from the ruins of the city of Seleucia, which (as is well known) was built with bricks brought from Nebuchadnezzar's own city, Babylon. The ruins of Seleucia lie on the same side of the river, only a few miles down stream.

The origin and meaning of the name Baghdād have

¹ This is the famous "Michaux Stone." The text was published by Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i, pl. 70.

² Col. i, l. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pl. 48, col. 4, l. 20.

provoked much discussion and theorizing. Some have thought that it is a faulty transliteration into Arabic letters of the name of the city which the cuneiform inscriptions give as Bakdada and Bakdadu, but this is improbable. The name Baghdād, though somewhat similar in sound, is really formed of two Persian words, namely, "Bagh," *i.e.*, God, and "Dādh," *i.e.*, set, or placed, or given, the whole meaning the "place established by God," or "the God-given city." This was a very appropriate name for the city on the Tigris, which drew to itself the wealth and power which many centuries earlier had belonged to "the Gate of God" (Bab-ilu), or Babylon the Great. Tavernier thought that the name of Baghdād (or Bagdat, as he gives it) means "Jardin donné."¹

In the eighth century the Arabs, having made themselves masters of all Arabia and of the countries east of it as far as India, turned their attention to the restoration of the old trade routes to the East and their great markets. They found it necessary to have a large trading centre near the site of Al-Madāin, which they themselves had destroyed in 637, and they decided to build a new capital at Sûk Baghdād. The founder of the Muslim city of Baghdād was the second 'Abbâsid Khalîfah, Al-Manşûr,² and he began to build in A.H. 145 = A.D. 762. His city stood on the right or east bank of the Tigris, close to the river, and was circular in form. It had a double wall, with a deep ditch outside, and was divided into four parts by roads which led to the four city gates, namely, the Kûfah Gate, the Baṣrah Gate, the Khurâsân Gate, and the Syrian Gate. In the centre of this "Round City" stood the Great Mosque and the palace of Manşûr, called the "Golden Gate," or the "Green Kubbah."

¹ "Quelques uns disent qu'elle a tiré son nom d'un Hermitage qui estoit dans un pré où à present elle est bastie, et qui fut donné à un certain Hermite qui y faisoit sa demeure, d'où elle fut appelé *Bagdat*, ce qui en Persien signifie *Jardin donné*."—*Les Six Voyages*, tom. 1, p. 208.

² For full details of Al-Manşûr's city see le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 15 ff.

When Manşûr died (775), he left a most flourishing city¹ to his successor, Al-Mahdî (775-785). Under Hârûn ar-Rashîd (786-809) the wealth accumulated in Baghdâd was incalculable. The munificence, not to say extravagance, of this fascinating personality is well known from the popular work, "A Thousand Nights and a Night," as well as from many more serious Arab books. His sons, Muḥammad al-Amin (809-813) and 'Abd-Allah al-Mamûn (813-833), hated each other, and quarrelled violently, and two factions sprang up, the one supported by the Arabs and the other by the Persians. At length one of Mamûn's generals called Ṭâhir, the son of Ḥusên, seized the city on behalf of his master. Under Mamûn Baghdâd became a great and splendid city, and of vast size, and the Khalîfah himself became immensely rich.² He welcomed to his Court poets, philosophers, historians, and almost any great thinker who was willing to go there. Every kind of learning was patronized by him, and many works of Greek and Syrian writers were translated into Arabic at his cost.

Mu'tasîm (833-842), the successor of Mamûn, found it so difficult to rule in Baghdâd that two years after his accession (A.H. 221 = A.D. 835) he determined to found a new capital and to transfer his Government thither (836). The site which he chose for it lay on the east bank of the Tigris, at a place called Sâmarrâ, about seventy miles north-west of Baghdâd. He collected an army of craftsmen of all kinds, and they worked incessantly, and built for him a magnificent palace, and a splendid city, which in a few years rivalled Baghdâd. Many of the later 'Abbâsid Khalîfahs lived at Sâmarrâ, viz., Wâthik (842), Mûta'wakkil (847), Muntaşir (861), Musta'in (862), Mu'tazz (866), Muhtadi (869), and Mu'tamid (870). The last-named returned to Baghdâd in 892, and then the general population drifted by degrees to the old capital, and Sâmarrâ began to fall into decay. Soon after this period the power of the Khalîfahs began

¹ And 15,000,000 dinârs (£7,500,000).

² His annual income was about 28,000,000 dinârs (£14,000,000).

to decline, but for about three and a half centuries Baghdâd managed to maintain its position as a trading centre, and continued to possess vast stores of riches.

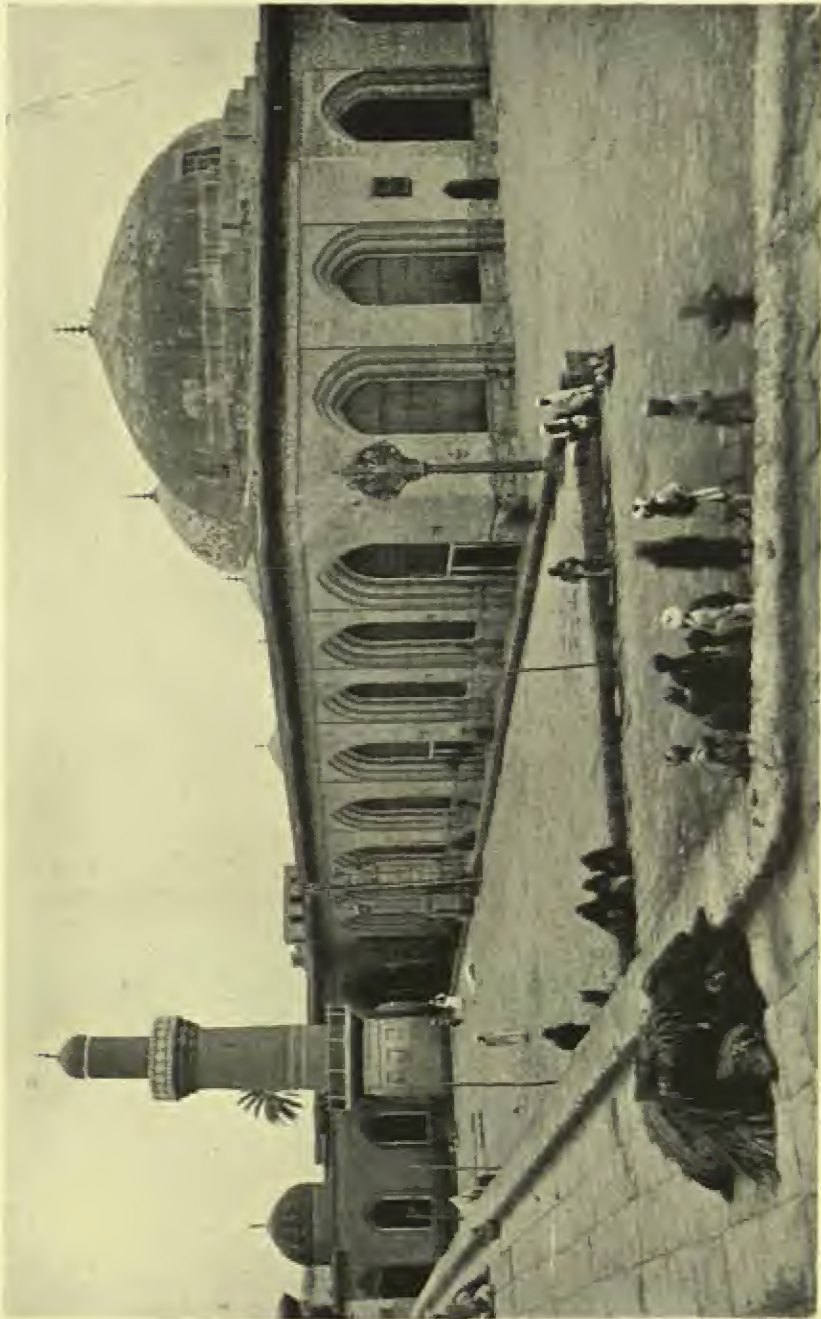
In January, 1258, the Mongol King Hûlâgû Khân, the son of Changiz Khân, began to blockade Baghdâd, and after fifty days, aided by the treachery of some of the Shi'ah inhabitants, he took it. The Khalifah Musta'shim and his family were made prisoners, and taken out to the camp of the Mongols; a little later the Khalifah and his sons were slain.¹ The looting of the city occupied almost as long as its blockade, and whilst it went on hundreds of thousands of its inhabitants, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, were tortured with every refine-

¹ Mr. le Strange thinks that Marco Polo's account of Musta'shim's death is substantially true, for it is confirmed by the Chronicle of Ibn Furât, his contemporary; see le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 343, and a paper also by le Strange in *Jnl. Royal As. Soc.*, 1900, p. 293. Marco Polo's account (ed. Yule, I, 64 ff.) is as follows: "Now it came to pass on a day in the year of Christ 1255, that the Lord of the Tartars in the Levant, whose name was Alaû, brother of the Great Kaan now reigning, gathered a mighty host, and came up against Baudas and took it by storm. It was a great enterprise, for in Baudas there were more than 100,000 horse, besides foot soldiers, and when Alaû had taken the place he found therein a tower of the Calif's which was full of gold and silver and other treasure; in fact, the greatest accumulation of treasure in one spot that ever was known. When he beheld that great heap of treasure he was astonished, and summoning the Calif to his presence, he said to him, 'Calif, tell me now why thou hast gathered such a huge treasure? What didst thou mean to do therewith? Knewest thou not that I was thine enemy, and that I was coming against thee with so great an host to cast thee forth of thine heritage? Wherefore didst thou not take of thy gear and employ it in paying knights and soldiers to defend thee and thy city?' The Calif wist not what to answer, and said never a word. So the Prince continued, 'Now then, Calif, since I see what a love thou hast borne thy treasure, I will e'en give it thee to eat!' So he shut the Calif up in the Treasure Tower, and bade that neither meat nor drink should be given him, saying, 'Now, Calif, eat of thy treasure as much as thou wilt, since thou art so fond of it: for never shalt thou have aught else to eat!' So the Calif lingered in the tower four days, and then died like a dog." According to Ibn al-Furât, the Calif and his son were put into two great sacks, and were trampled underfoot till they both died.

ment of cruelty and killed; in fact, the city and its people were practically destroyed. In 1340 Shêkh Hasan Buzurg, Chief of the Jalêrs, took up his abode in Baghdād. In 1401 Timur the Lame took the city after energetic resistance, and the massacres of Hûlâgû were repeated, but on a smaller scale. In 1411 the Kara Kûyûnlî, or "Black Sheep" Turkomans, took the city, and in 1469 they were compelled to evacuate it by the Ak-Kûyûnlî, or "White Sheep" Turkomans. The Ak-Kûyûnlî were in turn expelled by the Persians under Shâh Ismâ'il in 1508, and the Persians were conquered by the Turkish Sultân Sulêman in 1534. The Persians again occupied Baghdād in 1623, but were once more expelled by the Turks in 1638, under Murād IV. The city stood the siege of the Turks for forty days, but was compelled to surrender, and the bulk of the population were butchered by the conquerors, in spite of the promises which they had made to spare them. It is said that the officers of Murād arranged a sort of tableau, in which the heads were struck off one thousand captives by one thousand headsmen at the same moment, and that Murād enjoyed the sight! From December, 1638, until its capture by the British on Sunday morning the 11th of March, 1917, Baghdād continued to be a Turkish possession.

The area of Baghdād varied at different periods. According to Aḥmad ibn 'Alî al-Khaṭīb, quoted by le Strange,¹ the area of East Baghdād in A.D. 884 was 26,250 *jarîbs*, and of West Baghdād 17,500 *jarîbs*. Assuming that 2,133 *jarîbs* equal one English square mile, the area of East Baghdād was 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ square miles, and of West Baghdād 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ square miles, or a total of 21 square miles. This estimate of Al-Khaṭīb supports the statement of Iṣṭakhrî that the city covered an area which was five miles square. According to the measurements of Felix Jones, East Baghdād covered 591 acres and West Baghdād 146 acres, in all 737 acres, or 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ square miles, *i.e.*, the size of the city has decreased to about one-twentieth of what it was in the eighth or ninth century.

¹ *Baghdad*, pp. 323-326.



The Courtyard and Mosque of Shēkh 'Abd al-Kādir of Ghilān, the patron saint of Baghdād. The dome above the saint's tomb was built A.H. 840 (A.D. 1436).



On the whole the climate of Baghdâd is healthy, and much of the sickness which is prevalent is due to the water which is left behind by floods, caused by the rise of the Tigris and Euphrates. The flood water of the Euphrates drains naturally into the Tigris, and because the authorities have neglected systematically the repair of the dykes and the clearing of the canals, sheets of water, many square miles in extent, lie round about the city for weeks, and even months, before they disappear. At such times fevers are rampant, and though they yield readily to treatment, if neglected they often prove fatal. Epidemics usually prevail from May to October. Baghdâd has suffered severely from visitations of the plague and cholera, and sometimes one-half of its population has been wiped out. In 1831 a most destructive flood accompanied the outbreak of the plague, and the calamities of that year were spoken of with awe when I was in the city. According to Mr. A. N. Groves, the heroic missionary who was stationed in Baghdâd in 1830 and 1831, the plague came from the north-west in March, and early in April one of Major Taylor's spahis died of it, and four others were attacked by it. The British Resident and his family departed to Basrah, and crowds of natives, in boats and on foot, set out for the same place. About half of the inhabitants had left the city as soon as the rumour of the approach of the plague reached Baghdâd, but many of those who fled into the desert were obliged to return because of the flood-water which surrounded the town. The Arabs in the country round about began to rob the natives who fled, and when those who escaped from them turned back to the city and related their experiences, the exodus of the poor, at least, was stopped. In the eastern part of the city 1,200 natives died on April 10th, and 1,040 on the following day, and at that time the Tigris flooded the whole of the western part of the city and destroyed 1,200 houses. On April 14th there were 1,800 deaths in the city, and for many days following the death-rate was 1,000 per day. Mr. Groves says that in the month of April 30,000 people died, and that altogether two-thirds of the population

of 80,000 were carried off by the plague. Baghdâd was "a perfect desert, only peopled by the dead, the bearers of the dead, and the water-carriers." On April 27th a large portion of the city wall on the north-west fell, undermined by the flood, and the water rushed unchecked through the Jews' quarter, and swept away 200 houses. Practically the whole of the population of Hillah perished, and the wolves and jackals came in from the desert and devoured the dead bodies as they lay in the streets. Mr. Groves says that medicine availed nothing against the disease, for "if you attack the fever they die of prostration of strength; if you endeavour to support the constitution, they die of oppression of the brain. Those cases which first affected the head with delirium have been the most fatal; next those with carbuncles, which did not appear, however, for a fortnight after the commencement of the disease" (p. 138). It is sad to have to record that the heroic missionary, who never left Baghdâd even for a day during the epidemic, lost his wife, who was attacked on May 7th and died on the 14th.

The population of Baghdâd in 1888 was said to be about 150,000, and considering that it was made up of Muslims—both Sunnites (traditionalists) and Shi'ites (free-thinkers)—Jews, Armenians, Chaldean Catholics, Nestorians, Jacobites and Protestants, it was marvellous how few serious breaches of the peace occurred. The Jews, owing to their wealth and tenacity of purpose, formed a powerful section of the community, and it was said that the Baghdâd Government found their help and support indispensable. The observance of the weekly rest-day by the various religious communities formed a serious obstacle to continuous business, for the Muslims observed Friday, the Jews Saturday, and the Christians Sunday; besides these each community kept numerous festivals. The greatest Christianizing influence and the oldest was that of the Roman Catholics, whose church and hospital and schools were maintained in a state of great efficiency. The devotion, self-sacrifice, and whole-hearted service of the godly men and women who toiled

in them, and devoted their whole lives to the work, might well be imitated by the missionaries of other denominations. The Americans had no missionary in Baghdâd when I was there, and the British only one. Later the Church Missionary Society sent out a missionary with his wife and two lady helpers (Miss Valpy and Miss Wilson). When this little party arrived at Baṣrah, a rumour swiftly came up the river, and spread abroad in the bazârs, that the "new English missionary and his ḥarīm had arrived." Thus the value of the future work of the missionary in Baghdâd was discounted before he set his foot in the city. On the other hand, the medical side of the English Mission was a great success, for the physician realized that the Muslim of Baghdâd needed more than pills, quinine and plasters to convert him. An attempt to baptize a Muslim made by an injudicious English missionary (a colleague of the physician's), provoked such an uproar in the city that nothing further of the kind was done. There was a good deal of fanaticism latent in the Baghdadis, and a striking proof of it was afforded by the murder of a European who legally married a Muslim woman. This unfortunate man was stabbed to death one night on his own doorstep as he was about to step over the threshold into his house. The murderer, who was well known, was arrested, and though the British Consul-General took care that his trial at Baghdâd was no farce, he was acquitted. The British Ambassador to the Porte insisted on the murderer being re-tried at Diâr Bakr and again at Constantinople, but at each place he was acquitted.

The most important buildings now remaining in Baghdâd are the mosques, a few of which are old, and of great interest, because of their characteristic architectural features and decoration. I found it quite impossible to gain admission into those I most wanted to see, for certainly, from a religious point of view, the European (who is always regarded as a "kaffâr" (*i.e.*, unbeliever), or "a dog of a Christian," was not beloved in Baghdâd. I was not so persistently stared at in Baghdâd as I was at Kâzimên,

but the hatred of the Christian was in both equally strong.

The most important mosques¹ in the eastern part of the city are :

(1) Gâma' al-Ghazl, built by Mustanşir A.H. 633 = A.D. 1235.²

(2) Gâma' al-Khâsaki, originally a church and converted into a mosque A.H. 1094 = A.D. 1682.

(3) Gâma' Sulţân 'Alî, rebuilt by Ibrahim Pâshâ A.H. 1093 = A.D. 1682, but the tomb is older.

(4) Gâma' Margânîyah, built by Sulţân Margân A.H. 758 = A.D. 1356.³

(5) Gâma' Aḥmad Kahyâ, built A.H. 1211 = A.D. 1796.

(6) Gâma' Ḥûsên Pâshâ, built A.H. 723 = A.D. 1323 (now in ruins).

(7) Gâma' Al-Faḍl, built by Sulêmân Pâshâ A.H. 1197 = A.D. 1782.

(8) Gâma' of Khiḍr Beg, built A.H. 1133 = A.D. 1720.

(9) Gâma' of Dâwûd Pâshâ, built A.H. 1242 = A.D. 1826.

(10) Gâma' Kaplânîyah, built A.H. 1134 = A.D. 1721.

(11) Gâma' al-Pâshâ, built A.H. 1133 = A.D. 1720.

(12) Gâma' Murâd Pâshâ, built A.H. 870 = A.D. 1465.

(13) Gâma' ash-Shêkh, *i.e.*, the Mosque of Shêkh 'Abd al-Kâdar of Ghilân, the patron saint of Baghdâd, who is invoked at all times. He died about A.H. 650 = A.D. 1252, aged 91 years, but the fine dome above his tomb was not built until A.H. 840 = A.D. 1436.⁴

¹ I have adopted Felix Jones's spelling and dates.

² The minaret of this mosque is the oldest and highest in Baghdâd ; of the original building of which it formed the most important part very little remains. For a transcript of the inscriptions see Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, vol. ii, p. 296, note 2.

³ This is a very fine building, and well worth a close examination.

⁴ This mosque is a very popular place of pilgrimage, and is a very handsome building. It lies some distance from the river, and an aqueduct has been made by the pious to provide pilgrims with water. Niebuhr says (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 297) that it possessed large revenues out of which board and lodging were provided for needy pilgrims and others.



The minaret of the Mosque Jāma' al-Ghazl, built by the Khallfah Mustansir A.D. 633 (A.D. 1235). It is the oldest and highest minaret in Baghdād.

The most important mosques in the western part of the city are :—

(1) The Takiyah Bâb al-Kâzam, or House of the Baktash Dervishes. This is the famous Hospice of the Calendars of Baghdâd, of which so many mentions are made in the "Thousand Nights and a Night" (i.e., the "Arabian Nights"). The Calendars used to shave their heads and eyebrows, but they do so no longer, and according to Wellsted (*Travels*, i, 261), they went about in his time like the other Dervishes. The Takiyah was a sort of Hospice in which poor travellers, or pilgrims who were specially recommended, received board, lodging and attendance gratis (see Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, ii, p. 297). The fine inscription which I saw there is dated A.H. 333 = A.D. 944.

(2) The Tomb of Shêkh Ma'rûf, built A.H. 612 = A.D. 1215. Shêkh Ma'rûf was the son of Al-Firûzân, and a contemporary of Hârûn ar-Rashîd. He died A.H. 200 = A.D. 816. He is one of the four saints who guard Baghdâd, "whose intercession will ever prevent the approach of evil to the City of Peace." He was by birth a Christian. The original shrine was accidentally burnt in A.H. 459 = A.D. 1067, but was rebuilt by order of the Khalîfah Kâim, A.H. 479 = A.D. 1086 (see le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 99).

(3) The Tomb of 'Ayishah Khânum, wife of Hûsên Pâshâ, Governor of Baghdâd, who was buried here A.H. 1131 = A.D. 1718. This tomb is said to have been also the tomb of Zûbêdah, wife of the famous Khalîfah Hârûn ar-Rashîd. She was not¹ buried here, but at Kâzimên, three miles to the north, and the tombs of her and her son, the Khalîfah Amîn, were destroyed A.H. 433 = A.D. 1051, at the same time as the tombs of the Imâms Mûsâ and Muḥammad.

Other interesting buildings in Baghdâd which are worth careful inspection, and can easily be seen, are :

(1) Khân al-Atûrtmah, or the "Enclosed Khân," dated A.H. 758 = A.D. 1356-7.

¹ The evidence on the subject collected by Mr. le Strange (see *Baghdad*, pp. 164, 350 ff.) is conclusive.

(2) The Tomb of Shêkh 'Omar Shahab ad-Dîn, built A.H. 622 = A.D. 1225, which stands near the Bâb al-Waşţânî.

(3) The remains of the famous College of Mustanşir, built A.H. 630 = A.D. 1232. It has been rebuilt, and part of the new building is used for Government Offices, and part of it as a Khân. The Kûfî inscription recording its erection was shown to me.

Thanks to European travellers much is known about mediæval Baghdâd, and it will be useful to summarize briefly the accounts which the more important of them give of the famous city. The English travellers who visited Syria, Persia, and the Persian Gulf and India for commercial purposes, say very little about Baghdâd, and one and all of them appear to have stayed as short a time in the city as possible. The earliest and fullest description of Baghdâd we owe to Dr. Leonhart Rauwolf (died 1596), a famous Dutch physician and botanist, who spent three years in the East, and made the largest-known collection of Oriental plants and herbs; but he had a shrewd eye for many things besides trees, plants and diseases of the human body, and his "Itinerary" justly deserves its reputation as a true and straightforward narrative of what he saw and heard. Of the famous city of Bagdet, called Baldac, he says :

"The Town Bagdet, belonging to the Turkish Emperour, is situated on the most easterly part of his dominions, on the rapid river Tigris, and the confines of Persia, in a large plain, almost like unto Basle on the Rhine, it is divided into two parts, which are rather bigger than Basle, but nothing near so pleasant, nor so well built, for the streets thereof are pretty narrow, and many houses so miserably built that some of them are down to the first story, and others lie quite in ruins. The case is the same with the Churches, which for age look black, and are so much decayed that you shall hardly find a whole one; whereon are still several old Arabian, or rather Chaldean, inscriptions to be seen, cut in stone, by the means whereof many antiquities of the town might have been explained, but I could not only not read them, but could get no body that could interpret them to me. There are buildings that are worth seeing, as the Camp of the Turkish Bashaw, and the great Bazaar or Exchange beyond the river in the other town, and the Baths which are not to be compared with those of Aleppo and Tripoli, for they are at the bottom and on the walls



The Tomb of Shékh Ma'rúf in Western Bagdad.

done over with pitch, which maketh them so black and dark that even in the day time you have but little light. There being two towns, one of them which lieth on this side is quite open, so that you may go in and out by night without any molestation; wherefore it should rather be called a great village than a town; but the other that lieth towards Persia on the confines of Assyria, is very well fortified with walls and ditches, chiefly towards the Tigris, where there are also some towers, two whereof are within by the gates that lead towards the water side, to guard them, and between them are the old high walls of the town, where on the top are stately writings, with golden letters, each whereof is about a foot long, to be seen; the true meaning thereof I would fain have learned, but for want of understanding and interpreters, I could not obtain it, but was forced to go without it. Near unto it is a bridge made of boats that reacheth over the Tigris into the other town, which in that place is as broad as the Rhine is at Strasburg, and because of its rapid stream so dark and dull that it is a dismal sight to look upon it, and may easily turn a man's head and make him giddy. This river runneth not much below the town into the Euphrates, and so they run mixt together into the Persian Gulf, by the town Balsara, which is six days' journey distant from thence eastward. These two towns as it is said, at the river Tigris, were many years ago built out of the ruined city of Babylon, whereof the one on the other side of the river is accounted to be the town of Seleucia of Babylon, and that on this side, which is more like unto an open village, is believed to be the town Ctesiphonta. . . . [Here he quotes Strabo and Pliny.] In the town Seleucia stands in a large place the Castle, which is without guarded neither with walls nor ditches, nor is quite finished within. Before it lie some pieces of ordnance in the road, which are so daubed with dirt that they are almost quite covered. In it dwelleth the Turkish Bashaw. . . . This Bashaw keeps a great garrison in the town of Bagdet, because it lieth on the confines of Susiana, Media, etc., which are provinces belonging to the King of Persia, and the Grand Signior hath nothing more to the east of it to command. His greatest dominions are the wildernesses of the desert Arabia, whereof the Turk hath one part, but the other and the biggest belongs to the King of Arabia. . . . When we lived at Bagdet, I found by our catering, that the scarcity was still very considerable, and it would have been much more, and have encreased, if the towns that lie above it on the Euphrates and Tigris, and chiefly Mossel, which formerly went by the name of Nineve, had not sent them great supplies, so did also those of Carahemit, etc., which supply they have also almost always at any other time, occasion for, for their cultivated grounds are chiefly in Mesopotamia, where[as] they have almost none at all, so that there groweth not enough to maintain themselves; wherefore the two rivers are very necessary for them, not only to provide them with victuals, as corn, wine, fruit, etc., but also to bring to them all sorts of merchandises, whereof many ship loads are

brought in daily. So that in this town there is a great deposition of merchandises (by reason of its commodious situation) which are brought thither by sea as well as by land, from several parts, chiefly from Natolia, Syria, Armenia, Constantinople, Haleppo, Damascus, etc., to carry them further into the Indies, Persia, etc. So it happened that during the time I was there, on the second day of December, 1574, there arrived 25 ships with spice and other precious drugs here, which came over the sea from the Indies, by the way of Ormutz, to Balsara, a town belonging to the Grand Turk, situated on the frontiers, the furthest that he hath south-eastwards, within six days journey from hence, where they load their goods into small vessels, and so bring them to Bagdet, which journey, as some say, taketh them up forty days. Seeing that the pasage, both by water and by land, belongeth both to the King of Arabia and the Sophi of Persia (which also have their towns and forts on their confines), which might be easily stopt by them, yet that notwithstanding all this they may keep good correspondence with one another, they keep pigeons (chiefly at Balsara) which in case of necessity might be sent back again with letters to Bagdet. When loaden ships arrive at Bagdet, the merchants (chiefly those that bring spice, to carry through the desarts into Turkey) have their peculiar places in the open fields without the town Ctesiphon, where each of them fixes his tents, to put his spices underneath in sacks, to keep them there safe, until they have a mind to break up in whole caravans; so that at a distance, one would rather believe that soldiers lodged in them than merchants, and rather look for arms than merchants goods. And so I thought myself, before I came so near that I could smell them. Some of these merchants that came with the same ships, came directly to our camp, and among the rest a jeweller, which brought with him several precious stones, viz., diamonds, chalcedonies, which make incomparable hafts to daggers, rubies, topazes, sapphirs, etc., the two first whereof he had procured in Camboya, and most of the rest in the Island of Zeylan, whereof he show'd us several very fine ones. The merchants bring these along with them in great caravans, and keep them very close and private, that they may not be found out at the Custom Houses and be taken away from them, which the Bashaws do constantly endeavour with all their might and power. For the Turks do not love that precious stones should cost them money, for they are extraordinarily covetous, wherefore you find but a few among them, but if they can have them without cost, after the aforesaid manner, they love them dearly, and keep them in great esteem. In the room of them other stones are sent into the Indies again, corals, emeralds (which are bought best in Aegypt), saffron, chermesberries, and several sorts of fruit, as cibebs, dates (which are there so pliable and soft that you may pack them together in great lumps as they do tamarinds), figs, almonds and many others which I cannot now remember, and also several sorts of silks, and Turkish handkerchiefs; but above all, fine horses, whereof they send abundance into the

Indies by the way of Persia, but more by the way of Ormutz, whereof the King of Portugal received yearly a good sum of money for custom, viz., forty ducats for each, which the merchants pay very freely, because that those that import horses (as I am informed) pay but half duty for their other goods at the Custom Houses, and sell them besides with good profit. Some of these horses are also sent (because of their beauty and goodness) into Syria, Natolia, and to us into Europe, where they are sold or presented to Princes, and other great persons of quality."¹

Pietro della Valle² says that Baldac, or Baudas (our Baghdâd), is a town without walls on the west bank of the Tigris, and its greater section lies on the east bank, and is walled. The houses have basements lower than the streets, where the people take refuge in hot weather. There are many mosques, but no palaces. The Pâshâ lives in a fort by the city wall, on the east bank, but the building would not stand against artillery. There are many covered bazârs, well built, where much silken apparel is sold; the gardens are large, and contain palms, lemon trees and pomegranate trees, the opium poppy, etc. The watering of the gardens is effected by machines worked by animals. The climate is good, but hot, and in December many people sleep in the open air. Melons, brought from Mousul on rafts, are plentiful; such a raft is called a "kielek,"³ and when it arrives the skins are deflated,

¹ See Rauwolf's *Travels* (English translation) in Ray's *Collection*, London, 1695, vol. i, p. 179 ff.

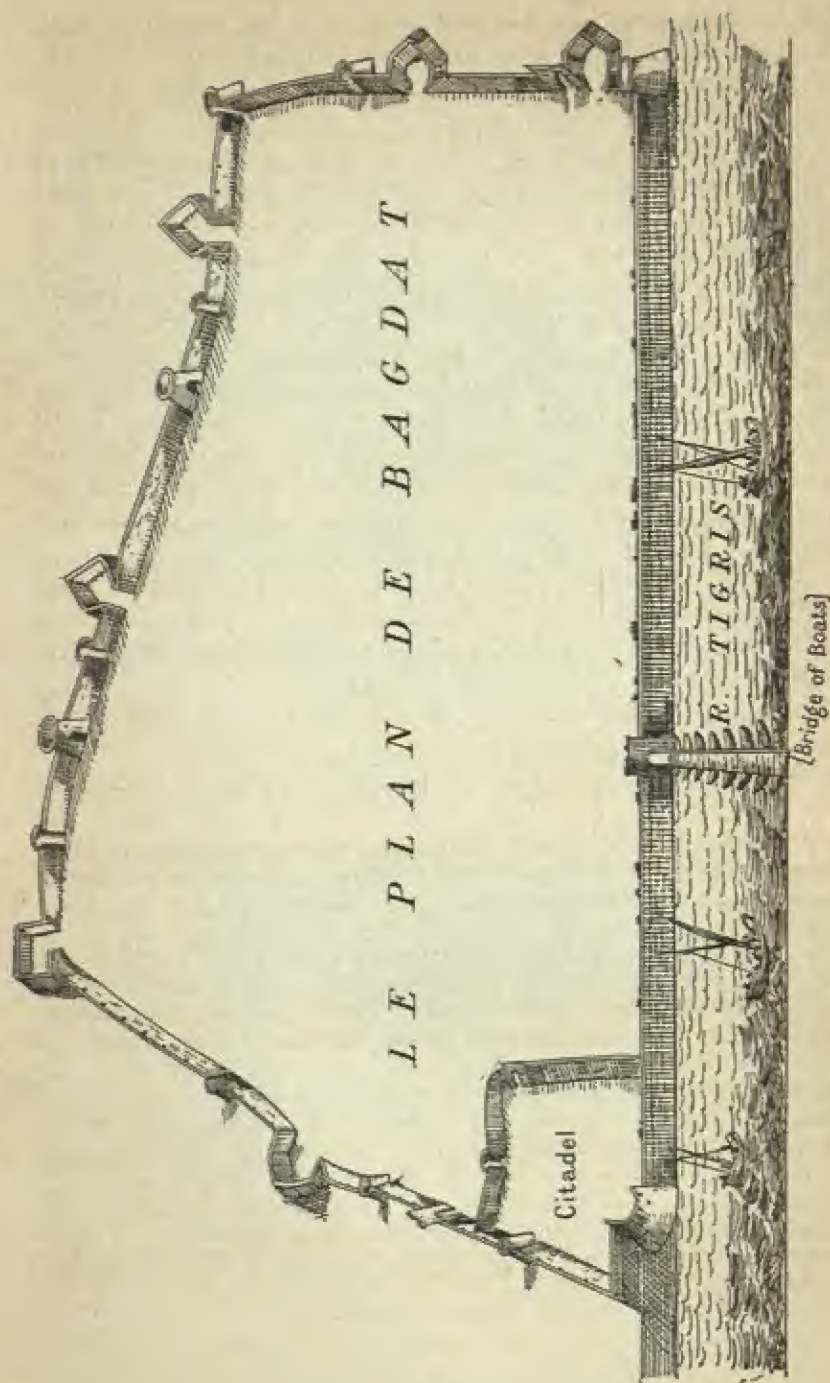
² Born 1586, died 1652. He visited Sinai, Jerusalem, and Baghdâd (1616), which, on account of the war between the Persians and the Turks, he was obliged to leave secretly January 4th, 1617. He married a Syrian Catholic of Mârdin, who died in Persia in 1621.

³ Persian کله. Ker Porter's description of this kind of raft may be quoted here: "Its construction is singularly well contrived for its purpose, consisting of a raft the form of a parallelogram; the trunks of two large trees, crossing each other, are the foundations of its platform, which is composed of bunches of osier twigs, fastened with admirable ingenuity to the stem below. To this light bottom are attached sheep skins filled with air, and so arranged that in case of necessity they can be replenished at will. On these the floor of the float is laid. The whole is then wattled, and bound together with well-turned wickerwork, and a raised rampart of the same secures the passengers and goods from the water. It is moved by two large oars

and carried back for further use, and the wood is sold. The two parts of the city are joined by a bridge of boats, twenty-nine or thirty in number, and Pietro describes how this bridge is broken at night for safety, or for traffic by day, or for security in time of war. The country is watered by canals, and the inundation comes in August, as in Egypt, and Pietro thinks stone bridges would be useless in times of flood. The inhabitants are chiefly Muslims, but many are secretly inclined to the Shi'ah heresy, and in consequence the power of the Pâshâ is not absolute. Pietro hints to his friend, Dr. Schipano, that there is much more he could say by word of mouth but not by letter, and, apologizing for his somewhat "confused description" of Baghdâd, due to the fact that he has set down things just as they came into his mind, he brings this section of his seventeenth letter to an end (Gancia's edition, tome 1, p. 369 f.).

Further information about Baghdâd in the first half of the seventeenth century is supplied by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who visited the city in 1632, when he stayed there five days, and again about twenty years later, when he stayed there for twenty days. He points out that it is a mistake to call Baghdâd "Babylon," as many people do, and that 'Aḵâr Kûf (see p. 327) is therefore not the Tower of Babel. The town is 1,500 paces in length, and 700 or 800 in breadth, with a circuit of three miles. The walls are of brick, and are provided with great towers, on which are sixty cannon; the ditch is five or six *toises* deep. The town has four gates, three on the land side and one on the river; the bridge is of boats, thirty-three in number. There are five mosques and ten khâns, or public guest-houses. The town is

on each side, and a third at one end acts as a rudder. When these machines reach their destination, and the cargo is disposed of, all their materials excepting the skins are sold; but they being previously exhausted of their air are laid on the backs of camels, and return by land with their masters to the port whence they had been embarked." —*Travels*, ii, 260. See also Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, ii, 330, 337; Thévenot, *Voyage*, ii, 103; Buckingham, *Travels*, ii, 87; Tavernier, *Les Six Voyages*, i, p. 203.



Plan of Bagdad by Tavernier.

badly built. Tavernier then goes on to describe the inhabitants, and some of the funeral ceremonies, costumes of the women, etc. He describes the two sorts of Muslims—the Shi'ites and Sunnites—and the three sorts of Christians, and the Jews. The population is about 15,000 souls, "ce qui montre assez que la ville n'est pas peuplée selon sa grandeur." Many foreign Jews pass through Baghdâd on their way to visit the Tomb of Ezekiel.¹ Facing p. 215 Tavernier gives a plan of Baghdâd, probably the first ever published.

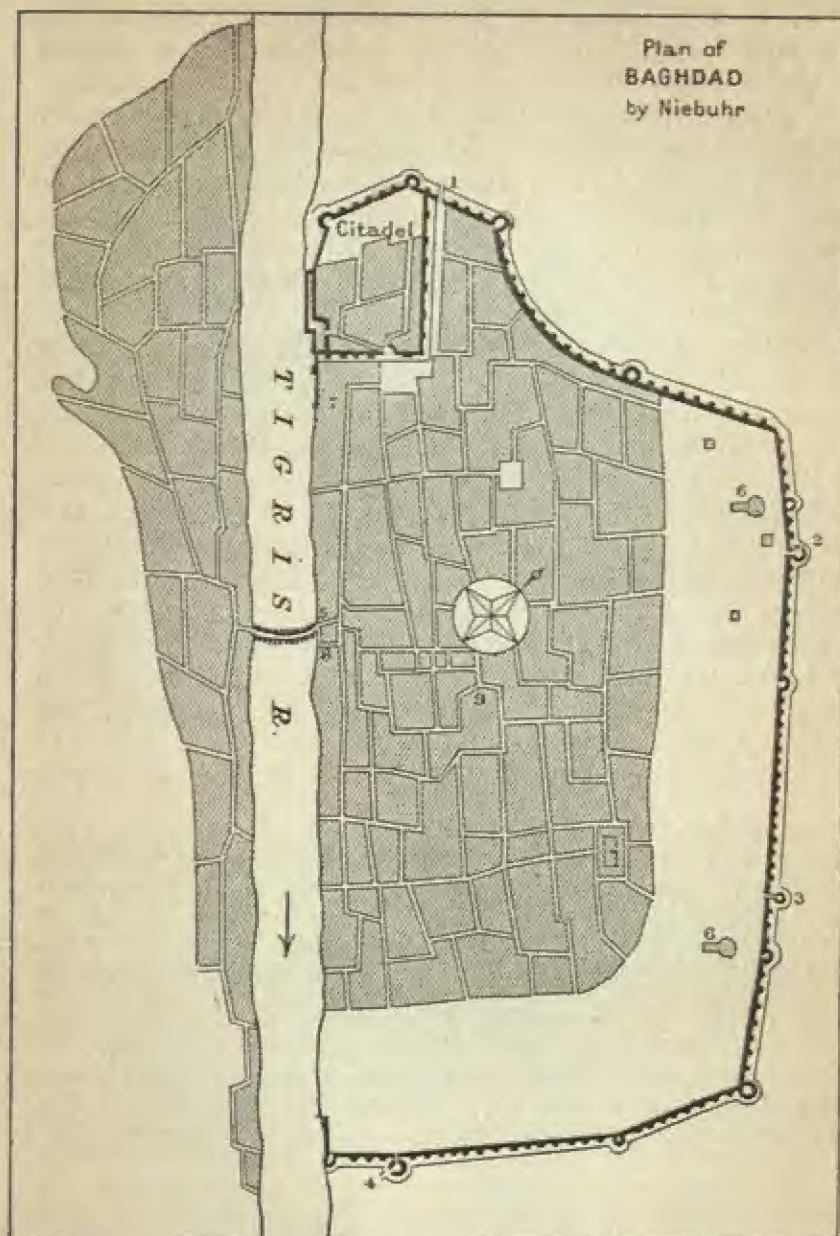
Father F. Vincenzo Maria, who visited Baghdâd in the middle of the seventeenth century, has nothing but praise to bestow upon "Begadet," the "City of Peace," and he describes the "Serraglio of the Bassâ" (Pâshâ) at considerable length. He found the bazârs handsome and spacious, and thought the climate most perfect, and the water good, and admired the fertile and luxuriant gardens and fields in and about the city, which were filled with grain, and fruit trees and cattle. Owing to the healthiness of the climate human life is greatly prolonged, and men attain to very old age, and his friends told him that quite recently two men had died in Baghdâd, one being 130 years old and the other 120.²

The best description of Baghdâd in the eighteenth

¹ The Tomb of Ezekiel is at Kifl on the Euphrates (west bank), about twenty miles south of Babylon. According to Benjamin of Tudela, the original tomb was covered by a large cupola, and was very handsome. It was erected by Jeconiah, King of Judah, and the 35,000 Jews who accompanied him. The modern tomb which Loftus saw in 1853 contained two vaulted apartments, the roof of the outer one being supported by heavy columns. The sepulchre was a large wooden box of considerable age, 10 feet long and 4 high, and it was decorated with English chintz and little red and green flags. The vaulted ceiling was decorated with scrolls of gold, silver and bronze. Built into one corner was an old Hebrew Pentateuch, supposed to have been written by Ezekiel himself. A lamp burnt day and night in the Tomb, and is said to have done so since Ezekiel lighted it, though fresh oil and wicks have been supplied when necessary. See Loftus, *Chaldea and Susiana*, London, 1857, p. 35; and Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 500. According to Ibn Baṭūṭah (ed. Defrémery, iii, 62), there was a tomb of Ezekiel at Balkh.

² *Il Viaggio all' Indie Orientali*, Venice, 1683, p. 94.

Plan of
BAGHDAD
by Niebuhr



1. Bâb Maâddem
2. Bâb Wustâni
3. Talism

4. Karolôg Kapi
5. Bâb Dejûsser
6. Batteries

7. Pâshâ's Palace
8. Maddraze el Mostanserîe
9. Sûk el Ghassel Bey

century is that of C. Niebuhr, who published a map of the city, and copies of all the principal Arabic inscriptions.¹ It may be thus summarized :

Baghdâd, in the province of Khâliṣ, lies on the east bank of the Tigris, and is governed by a Pâshâ of the first rank. On the land side there is a wall, much of which is in ruins. The town proper, which is close to the river, and the part containing the Sarâyah or palace, and the bazârs, are well built. Its population is comparatively large. The streets are narrow, and the bazârs roofed over, and at night many of the side streets are closed. The houses are built of burnt brick, are tolerably high, and have few windows looking into the streets. Each has a small square inside court, on which the dwelling-rooms open. Each house has a *sardâb*, or cellar, beneath it, in which the inhabitants take refuge from the heat in summer. The cold in winter is intense, and Niebuhr saw, early in February, ice half an inch thick. On the north-west side of the city is the gate called Bâb al-Mu'azzam. On the north-east side are the Bâb al-Waṣṭânî (*i.e.*, the Middle Gate), and the Bâb at-Talâsim, or the Halbah Gate. The latter was built by the Khalifah Nâsir ad-Dîn, A.H. 618 = A.D. 1221, and when Murâd IV passed through it after his capture of Baghdâd, it was blocked up, and has not been opened since.² There was also the Gate of the Bridge of Boats. There are ten large towers or bastions on the city wall and several small ones. In the western corner of the town is Al-Qal'ah, or "the Castle." The Sarâyah is close to the river, and is part of the College of Mustanṣir Billah, A.H. 630 = A.D. 1232; this Khalifah built his mosque three years later. The Taktiyahs, *i.e.*, hospices, are numerous in Baghdâd, and were founded by several different orders of dervishes. The Tigris near the city is 600-620 feet wide. The bridge of boats consists of thirty-four small boats chained

¹ See *Reisebeschreibung*, Copenhagen, 1778, vol. ii, p. 293 ff.

² Le Strange also mentions the Baṣaliyah Gate, or the Gate of Kalwâdhâ, or the Bâb al-Khalaj, or Bâb ash-Sharḳî (*i.e.*, Eastern Gate); this is on the south side of the city. See *Baghdad*, p. 281.



The Tomb and Mosque of Shokh 'Omar at Baghdad.

together, but the floods sometimes sweep it away.¹ In times of flood the river rises twenty feet. In West Baghdâd there are many gardens, and the northern half of it represents a part of the site of the oldest city of Baghdâd. Niebuhr then describes briefly the Takîyah of the Baktash Dervishes, and the so-called Tomb of Zubêdah, and the burial place of Bahlûl Dânah, and a few lesser buildings, and then goes on to speak of Kâzimên. In Baghdâd there are (continues Niebuhr) twenty mosques with minarets and a great many without. Many monks come to Baghdâd, and all are missionaries. Their object is not to convert the Muslims to Christianity, but to make native Christians acknowledge the Pope as the head of the churches. As a sort of Appendix to his description of Baghdâd, Niebuhr gives a list of all the Pâshâs who have ruled over the city since its conquest by Murâd IV in 1638, and a short account of each of them.

The European travellers who journeyed to Mesopotamia and visited Baghdâd in the nineteenth century have added little to our knowledge of the old city. Kinneir² traced its history at some length, but derived his information from the usual sources. Ker Porter³ described the city as he saw it. He says: The circuit of its walls, which are built of crude and baked brick, was five miles, and its citadel was at the north-west end of the wall on the east bank. The wall of the eastern half of the city had 117 towers, with five guns in each of seventeen of them; the wall of the western half had only seventeen towers. Each half of the city had 3 gates. Population 100,000. Buckingham,⁴ who stayed in the city for a considerable time as the guest of Mr. C. J. Rich, the British Consul-General, gives a very readable but quite general description of Baghdâd. Wellsted⁵ says that the city walls are seven miles in

¹ As in the year 1766.

² *Geographical Memoir*, London, 1813, p. 246.

³ *Travels*, ii, p. 263 ff.

⁴ *Travels*, ii, pp. 175-216.

⁵ *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, London, 1840, vol. i, p. 254 ff.

circumference, and that the mosques are one hundred in number, but he thought the baths poor, and considered the whole city to be a "mass of narrow lanes, dirty, dark, and damp." He estimated the population, which included Arabs, Turks, Persians, Jews and Christians, to be 120,000. All these travellers describe vividly the miserable state into which the city had fallen under Turkish rule, and what was true for the city was also true for the provinces of which it is the capital.

The report on Baghdâd by Felix Jones, the distinguished surveyor, contains a great deal of exact information about the city. According to him the enclosed area of Baghdâd in his day contained 737 acres, the eastern part of the city occupying 591 acres and the western more than 146 acres.¹ The alignment of the walls is very irregular, and they seem to have been constructed on no systematic plan. The oldest parts of them date from the third century of the Hijrah.² Each of the ten great towers has several cannon on top, and it is interesting to note that many of these were cast in Baghdâd. The city wall rises from a ditch, originally about 18 feet deep, and when in a perfect state was about 18 feet high; outside the ditch is a strong embankment. The wall and the numerous towers which support it are loop-holed for musketry. The circuit of the eastern fortifications is 10,600 yards, and of the western 5,800, in all 16,400 yards of wall, *i.e.*, 9 miles 24 furlongs.

During the four visits which I paid to Baghdâd in 1888, 1889, 1890, and 1891, I spent whatever time I had free from work in wandering about the city. The ground outside Baghdâd, both east and west, was well cultivated, and the gardens were beautiful; on the northern side there was nothing but desert. A great deal of the northern part of the area within the walls is ruins, and, speaking generally, the inhabited portion of the city is a comparatively

¹ See above, p. 190.

² The wall of Eastern Baghdâd was built by the Khalifah Mustazhir about A.H. 488 = A.D. 1095; it was repaired by the Khalifah Mustafî A.H. 568 = A.D. 1173. Thus Felix Jones's estimate is two centuries too early. See le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 279.

1. Bâb al-Mu'adham
2. Bâb al-Wasṭānī
3. Bâb at-Talīm
4. Bâb ash-Sharḳī
5. British Residency
6. Bâb aj-Jar
7. Bridge of Boats



Plan of
BAGHDAD
by Felix Jones
Scale of Yards

0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000

narrow strip of land running parallel with the river. All the best houses stood on the river front, and there the chief Government Offices were situated. Many parts of the city wall were in ruins, and in some places only its foundations remained. All the buildings round about the gates and the stone bridges which spanned the ditch outside the wall were in a shocking state of decay. The streets were narrow, and with the exception of those which led to the bazârs, or into the "Residency Street," were dull and dreary places to walk in. Passengers were few, and there was nothing to be seen on either side except blank walls. Many wooden balconies projected into the street at a height of about twelve feet from the ground, but they were all closely shuttered, and were only used by the inmates as spy-holes. The main entrances to the Jews' Quarter were protected by great wooden doors, which were shut at sundown, and fastened with massive bolts. Among the houses on the river front were a few which seemed to date from the seventeenth century, and these contained some fine specimens of coloured glass and wall decorations of a very elaborate character. Among the modern houses near the Residency was the large and handsome dwelling built by the Lynches for their own occupation. On the south side of it was a large *sardâb*, the walls of which were lined with bas-reliefs from one of the palaces of Ashur-našir-pal, at Nimrûd. This fine house was, I am told, carefully blown up by the Turks on the Saturday preceding the capture of Baghdâd by the British on Sunday, the 11th of March, 1917. The Castle, Al-Kal'ah, in the north-west corner of Eastern Baghdâd, and the buildings grouped about it, possessed many points of interest, but I found no one who could tell me anything about them. Many parts of them were in a state of semi-ruin, and, like Niebuhr, I marvelled at the politeness of the Turks, which allowed him and myself to enter the ammunition stores and the powder magazine almost unquestioned. Standing on the great tower called Tâbiyah Sâbûnjiyah, and looking over the city eastwards, it seemed to me that the northern half of the area of Eastern Baghdâd was in ruins. The



The Bridge of Boats which joins Eastern and Western Baghdad.

founders of the city called it, among other high-sounding names, "*Dâr as-Salâm*," or the "*Habitation of Peace*." It seemed to me that the name was still appropriate, but that the peace of which it was the habitation was the peace produced by decay.

Crossing by the bridge of boats to Western Baghdâd, I found myself quite near the eastern end of the city wall, which was in a greatly decayed state. I saw a few gardens and plantations near the southern part of the city wall, and several shallow sheets of water, the remains of successive floods. The streets were very narrow, and the houses more miserable than those of Eastern Baghdâd. And in threading my way through the south-west quarter of Western Baghdâd to see the tombs of Shêkh Dawûd, and Shêkh Ma'rûf, and Sittah Zubêdah, all of which lay outside the city wall, I had to pass through slums that were indescribably squalid. The north-west end was like all the other parts of this half of the city, and it seemed absolutely impossible that Mansûr's City of Baghdâd (founded A.H. 145 = A.D. 762), with its mighty double walls, and its Palace of the Golden Gate, and Great Mosque, could ever have stood here. There were no large buildings of any kind to see, and besides the old Takiyah, which is immortalized in the Story of the Three Calendars, and the so-called Tomb of Zubêdah, there was nothing which made Western Baghdâd worth a visit.

The general view of Baghdâd when the traveller approaches the city from down-stream (1888) is distinctly disappointing. The river is fine and broad, and each of its banks is lined with splendid date-palms for some two or three miles before any buildings become visible. On the west bank the place of the palms is gradually taken by a long line of tumble-down looking houses, and these extend right up to the bridge of boats. On the east bank the palms give place to a series of large houses, among them being the British Residency and the Government offices, which continue to the bridge of boats. Messrs. Lynch's steamers used to tie up near the "*Gumruk*," or Custom House, and the steamers of the Baghdâd

Government near them; the H.M.I.M. gunboat, "Comet," anchored nearly opposite the Residency. The bridge of boats lay like a barrier across the river, and completely spoiled the view upstream. None of the great mosques or their minarets could be seen from the river, and the general view of the Baghdâd reach at that time reminded me strongly of some of the reaches on the Nile in Upper Egypt. On the other hand, the traveller approaching Baghdâd from upstream obtains a much better view of Eastern Baghdâd, for he sees the mosques and their minarets, and the dome of the French church quite clearly, and gets a better idea of the size of the city. Also he obtains a very fine view of the cupolas and minarets of Kâzimên, which, until told, he imagines to be a part of Baghdâd.

As the result of many talks which I had with Mr. G. Clarke, Captain Cowley, and several other members of the European colony of Baghdâd, I came to the conclusion that the general condition of the city had considerably improved since the middle of the century, and that its commercial prosperity had greatly increased since the days of Commander Felix Jones. The population which that distinguished surveyor had estimated at 60,000 had certainly doubled at the very least. When Rich became Consul at Baghdâd in 1808 the city was governed by a Pâshâ, who, in every way possible, copied the system of government which the Turks applied to Constantinople, and whose rule was absolute and despotic. With the coming of Rich a new influence entered the town, and little by little it had an effect upon all the Turkish authorities in the city, from the Pâshâ downwards. The Bombay Government began to take an interest in Baghdâd and sent several of its officers to visit the city, and the Pâshâ found it impossible to continue to do the high-handed things which were so characteristic of the rule of his class at that time. Rich was followed by a series of British Consuls who succeeded in getting more and more influence over the Turkish authorities, and the presence in the city of Mr. Taylor, and the English missionary, Mr. Groves, did a great deal towards diminishing the injustice of

local officials, and limiting their exactions. British prestige increased very considerably under the influence of Rawlinson, and especially during his long residence in Baghdâd, and it was well maintained by the wise and prudent management of Mr. Plowden, who a few years later succeeded him. But even so, the material prosperity of the city was at a very low ebb, and the population was diminishing, and the British Consuls-General realised clearly that nothing but a revival of trade with Europe and Bombay could prevent Baghdâd from becoming a mere village on the Tigris. It is now quite clear that the increase in the prosperity of the city is due to the increase in trade, and this was brought about by the coming of the steamers of the Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company. The establishing of these steamers on the Tigris was not effected without difficulty, and it may be useful to recall the facts which led up to it. In 1829 Chesney went to Constantinople to offer his sword to the Turks, but Sir R. Gordon, British Ambassador to the Porte, persuaded him to go and make a survey of Egypt and Syria instead. Chesney did so, and in the Report which he wrote on his work, he proved that the making of the Suez Canal was possible, and it is said that it was the facts given in this report which made de Lesseps finally determine to undertake the work.

In 1831 Chesney surveyed all the lower part of the river Euphrates, and he proved clearly that this river might be used as a part of the route from Syria to India, viâ the Persian Gulf. The British Government was most anxious to test the possibilities of the proposed route to India, and the House of Commons voted £20,000 for the expenses of the final survey of the whole of the Euphrates. In 1835 Chesney set out on his expedition with H. Blosse Lynch (died 1873) as second in command. Two steamers were sent out to Bîr, *i.e.*, Bîr-ejik, on the Euphrates in sections, and, having been put together by Lynch, they were launched safely, and called "Tigris" and "Euphrates." Chesney and Lynch set out in them to survey the Upper Euphrates, and all went well until they

reached 'Ānah,¹ when a hurricane fell upon them, and the "Tigris" turned turtle and sank, and twenty of her crew, including R. B. Lynch, the captain's brother, were drowned.² The "Euphrates" proceeded to Baṣrah, and thence to Bushire, where in 1837 she was laid up. In 1837 Lynch succeeded Chesney as head of the Euphrates and Tigris Survey Expedition, and he surveyed the whole course of the Tigris from Armenia to the sea. In 1839 the East India Company sent out three steamers in sections to serve on the Tigris, and they were put together at Baṣrah, and were called "Tigris," "Nitocris," and "Comet." And in the following year four steamers, including the "Euphrates," flying the British flag, were afloat under the walls of Baghdâd. The work of surveying the two great rivers was carried on, and in 1841 Commanders C. D. Campbell and Felix Jones, accompanied by A. C. Holland, ascended the Euphrates as far as Beles³ in a little steamer called "Nimrod." This was considered a very remarkable feat.

When the surveying of the two great rivers was ended it was difficult to find work for the four Government steamers to do, and the authorities decided that three of them should be withdrawn, and that three merchant steamers should take their place. Moreover, it was to the interest of all that trade should increase, and a regular service of steamers for passengers, both European and native, was urgently required. Meanwhile Thomas Kerr Lynch (died 1891), who served under his brother, Captain H. Blosse Lynch, in the Second Euphrates Survey Expedition, had set up in business in Baghdâd, and he offered to bear all the expense of replacing the East

¹ A famous town on the Euphrates between Raḳḳah and Hit, and near Hadithah an-Nûrah.

² A copy of the inscription on the Memorial Tablet set up by the Bombay Government at Baṣrah will be found in vol. ii.

³ *I.e.*, Bâlis, the Barbalissus of classical writers, a famous port on the west bank of the Euphrates, and a great trading centre; for its capture by the Arabs see Bilâdhurf, pp. 150, 151, and Yâkût, i, p. 477. The Turkish village which now occupies the site is called "Eski Maskanah." See also Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum*, p. 69.

India Company's steamers on the Tigris with specially constructed merchant steamers, a very expensive undertaking. The East India Company had found the upkeep of their steamers on the Tigris a costly matter, and they accepted the offer, and application was made to the Porte through the ordinary diplomatic channels to sanction the exchange of steamers.

Now the Baghdâd Government were thoroughly alive to the importance of establishing a merchant steamer service between Baghdâd and Baṣrah, and with the view of supplying the want they decided to build a fleet of steamers suitable for plying on the Euphrates and Tigris. When they had built their first steamer, which was called the "Baghdâd," they applied to the East India Company for the loan of the services of Captain A. C. Holland,¹ Commander of the "Comet," and this gentleman became captain of the first Turkish steamer on the Tigris. Those who had control of the steamer lacked the necessary business qualities and experience, and as a trading concern the Turkish steamer proved to be unprofitable, and the Baghdâd merchants were fain to revive their

¹ Born at Colchester, 1812. In 1832 he was an officer on the "Elphinstone," and was engaged in suppressing piracy in the Persian Gulf. He accompanied Campbell and Felix Jones in the "Nimrod" to Beles, and was subsequently given command of the "Comet," which he held till 1861, when he retired on a pension. He pursued the Persians up the Kârûn as far as Ahwâz during the war of 1845, and received the Muḥammarah War Medal for his services. He patrolled the Tigris for many years, and protected the native craft, and put down the Arab blackmailers with a strong hand; he had many "scraps" with the tribes on both banks of the river, and his success was so great that he was held in great esteem even by the would-be raiders and blackmailers. The services which he rendered to the East India Company and the Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company in connection with trade on the river were very important, and it was chiefly through his tact and skill in handling the tribes that lived on the river banks that the earliest merchant steamers on the Tigris were allowed to travel up and down unmolested. Ample testimony as to the value in which his services were held by Sir Arnold Kemball, Sir Henry Rawlinson, General Outram, Commanders Selby and Felix Jones and others, is provided by numerous letters which are in the possession of his son. (See p. 242.)

old system of transport by means of boats which floated down the river and were towed up. Whilst matters were thus, Mr. Joseph Ezra Abraham Jeorju, a wealthy and influential merchant of Baghdâd, made great efforts to obtain a permit to establish a fleet of merchant steamers on the Tigris, and endeavoured to associate Captain A. C. Holland with him in the undertaking. But the Turkish authorities did not wish to proclaim their own failure to do what he proposed, and they refused the permit. Very soon after this the negotiations between the British Government and the Porte for replacing three of the four Survey steamers by mercantile steamers were successfully concluded, and the firm of T. K. Lynch Brothers received a permit to establish a fleet of merchant steamers on the Tigris. In the autumn of 1860 the Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company was formed, and very soon afterwards its first steamer, the "London," with Captain A. C. Holland as Master, made her maiden voyage up the Tigris.

With the advent of this steamer and her sister ships a new period of prosperity opened for Baghdâd and Başrah. Formerly the trade between Baghdâd and Başrah was carried on by means of boats of from twenty to fifty tons burden, and the cargo was transferred from them to larger boats of the same kind, which carried it to Bahrén and other ports of the Persian Gulf, and to India. The river boats relied on the current and made the journey to Başrah in from six to eight days, but the return journey required anything from forty to sixty days.¹ Moreover, the boats travelling upstream often ran aground, and whilst their crews were getting them afloat gangs of Arabs from the deserts near the river fell upon them, and robbed the boats. On the other hand, the new steamers made the journey to Başrah, when the river was "good," in from fifty-two to sixty hours, and from Başrah to Baghdâd in four or five days. They became

¹ It took from forty to sixty days to track up from Başrah to Baghdâd with a single gang of trackers; with two gangs of trackers a load was once delivered in Baghdâd in twenty-two days (Felix Jones).

popular for many other reasons than speed. They carried mountains of cargo which was neither broached on the way, nor "lost," and the native passengers who crowded on them were not called upon to pay their fares twice, or otherwise be imposed on by the officers. They sailed regularly and to time, and there was one up and one down the river each week, and as they ran in connection with the British-India Company's Mail Steamers, Baghdâd enjoyed the boon of a weekly mail both in and out.

The attitude which the Baghdâd Government have always taken in respect of these steamers almost suggests that they wanted to restrict and not to increase the trade of the city. Thus they would not permit them under any consideration to ascend the Tigris above Baghdâd, though for many weeks at a time there is water enough in the river to allow them to go as far as Sâmarrâ (65 miles), or even as far as Takrit (90 miles). It was a curious oversight, or want of foresight, on the part of Rawlinson and T. K. Lynch that they did not obtain running powers on the river north of Baghdâd. Then again at some periods of the year there was cargo enough at Baghdâd to fill two or three steamers, but the Government would not permit the Company to run more than one steamer up and one down per week; and each time the period arrived for the renewal of the Company's *faramân*, or permit, difficulties of every kind were raised, both at Baghdâd and at the Porte, the excuse for refusing to renew being that the Company's *faramân* authorized it to run steamers on the Euphrates, and not on the Tigris. I have heard that there is some truth in this statement, and that the Pâshâ who drew up the *faramân* did not know the difference between the Tigris and Euphrates, and was very uncertain as to which river Baghdâd stood on! Be this as it may, in 1891 the obstruction of the Turks to the renewal of the *faramân* became very serious, and it was reported in the bazârs of Baghdâd that Lord Salisbury had told the Porte that if the steamers on the Tigris were stopped, he would have 20,000 Indian troops landed at Baghdâd in a fortnight.

Another valuable help to the trade of the city was the "Camel Post" between Baghdâd and Damascus, which was established by the East India Company soon after 1840. The two men who were most concerned in bringing this about were Rawlinson and H. Blosse Lynch. The former provided the necessary diplomatic pressure on the Baghdâd Government, and the latter, with great tact and linguistic skill, made the necessary arrangements with the desert tribes. By the Camel Post letters were carried to Damascus weekly in from four to six days, and frequently reached London in less than a fortnight from the date of posting. This Post was managed by the British Consul-General at Baghdâd, and was greatly patronized by merchants, both European and native, as much for its safety as for its speed. The desert tribes were paid an annual subsidy, and in times of flood they afforded the postman much assistance. His journeys were made with such secrecy, swiftness, regularity and certainty, that the natives often spoke of them as symbolic of the fleeting nature of material things, and of death which comes to all. When the popularity of the Camel Post was at its height, certain foolish and ignorant people started the cry that the Porte regarded its existence as a slight to the Baghdâd Government, and a reflection upon the Turkish Postal Service. Unfortunately the British Government listened to the cry, and ordered the abolition of this invaluable Post. This foolish concession to the Turks at the instance of busybodies lowered the prestige of the British very considerably in Baghdâd, and for a time greatly injured the trading section of the community. One of the foremost Turkish officials openly lamented to a friend of mine that since the abolition of the Baghdâd-Damascus Camel Post they were obliged to send important papers for Constantinople viâ Bombay, as their horse-post viâ Môsul and Aleppo was unsafe.

Though many travellers to Baghdâd have found the city dull and uninteresting, I must confess that I found many places and things in the eastern part of it well worthy of examination. At first the bazârs seemed most unattractive, but as I made the acquaintance of one

dealer here and another dealer there, I discovered that the shopkeepers did not put their best things on exhibition. I found that many of the shopkeepers were born collectors, and that they kept their good things hidden, and gloated over them in secret. 'Alî Kûrdî, or 'Alî the Kûrd, as he was called, had a large stock of old Persian and Sassanian antiquities. When we became friends, and he took me to his house, he produced from holes in the walls, and from little trap-doors in the ground, and from a mysterious sardâb, or underground cellar, into which he would not take me, such wonderful Indian and Persian enamelled gold necklaces, collars, armlets, anklets, pectorals, etc., that I was amazed. I had never seen so many or such beautiful things at one time and in one place in all my life. He had several richly illuminated copies of the Kûr'ân, and a great many MSS. which he described as priceless, and I knew just enough of such things at that time to feel that he was right. I was told that he was employed to collect Kûr'âns and Kûr'anic amulets for the mullahs of the Mosque of Kâzîmên, and that he had collected many of the precious stones which decorated the famous jewelled curtain which hangs in the great mosque. He would sell nothing merely for the sake of selling and making a profit, but when once he was convinced his customer understood and properly appreciated the object that he wished to buy, dealing with him was an easy matter. What became of his marvellous collection after his death I know not, but it is sincerely to be hoped that it did not fall into the hands of the Turkish Government.

In a similar manner the silk merchants and the gold-workers produced wonders of their respective crafts out of hidden places, which seemed to contain an inexhaustible supply of beautiful objects. A carpet merchant, a friend of Mr. Clarke (Messrs. Lynch's Agent), produced for me some silk prayer carpets, not with a view to selling them, but merely to make our "eyes to weep tears of joy and of gratitude to Allah, for letting men make such wonders." He knew the age and pedigree of each, and I have never seen any like them except one, which was in the

possession of Mr. W. H. Wrench, British Consul in Constantinople. The merchants who had the most tumble-down shops, and who wore the poorest and raggedest garments, were the wealthiest, and the more I saw of them the more I felt convinced that there were great riches in Baghdâd, but that they were all underground. I visited the shops and houses of several of the Jewish merchants, and saw many valuable things in their hands, but either they were more suspicious than the Arabs and Persians, or they distrusted me more than the others, for they produced nothing from their secret stores to show me. In the pottery bazâr were some drinking bottles of very pretty shapes, and covered all over with a glaze of a most beautiful turquoise blue colour. The glaze had been applied with extraordinary evenness, and resembled that on the faïence figures and vases of the XVIIIth, XIXth and XXth dynasties, which were found a few years ago at Thebes and Tûnah in Upper Egypt.

In the winter, life in Baghdâd, for the temporary resident, is very pleasant, for the climate and air are good; the water from the Tigris, when fresh and properly filtered, is all that can be desired, fruit and vegetables are cheap, there is little noise and no hurry in the streets, and in a condescending fashion the natives are tolerant to the stranger "dog of a Christian" who does not want to pry too much into Muslim affairs, or to enter sacred places. Every day I found myself breaking some law or ordinance of the Baghdâd Government, but I found that in Baghdâd, as in many other Oriental places, a "little gift in the bosom made blind the eyes." Indeed, it seemed to me that so long as a man had a certain amount of money he might break almost every law, and still keep out of prison and lead a happy life in Baghdâd. I asked one of the Secretaries in the Sarâyah why law-breaking was not more strictly punished in all cases, and he answered me by quoting an Arabic proverb which says, "The law only runs so long as the ink is wet." For the permanent resident in Baghdâd the case was very different, and both European and native merchants were harassed by irritating regulations of all kinds, chiefly

because the Government made a new law for special application to any new difficulty. These regulations wasted the money of the merchant, and the time and trouble of everybody, and in the end the Government was always the loser. The Turk based his regulations about the import of food on the dietary laws as laid down in the *Kur'ân*, and in the commentaries on that Book. In accordance with these he prohibited the importation of pork in any form, and all wine and spirits, and many useful medicines. A friend of mine ordered a ham for Christmas from Bombay, and when it arrived the *Gumruk* (Custom House) refused to release it, and the officer told him that he must produce written evidence from Consular officials stating where the pig whence the ham came was grown, and where and when the ham was shipped. And he was also called upon to produce a certificate from the Turkish Consul at the port where the ham was shipped, declaring that the pig was in good health when slaughtered. My friend, knowing the ways of Baghdâd, asked for a printed form, and filled in all particulars carefully, and promised to post the form to the Turkish Consul in London. He then made a private arrangement with the official, who allowed him to take the ham away to keep until the certificate from the Turkish Consul arrived. The regulation respecting the import of wine and spirits was rigidly enforced, yet I well remember that on one occasion when His Excellency the Wâli was ill through a chill, his servant came to my host's house, and openly begged for a bottle of Hennessy's three-star brandy, saying that his master would die if it could not be obtained. Brandy was not regarded in Baghdâd as a spirit, but as *khôsh dawa*, i.e., first-rate medicine.

A good deal of pilfering went on under cover of the regulation that the Mudîr of Customs should satisfy himself that all medicines imported were pure, and that in any case they did not contain anything harmful to the soul or body of the Muslim. And this is how the law worked. A resident in Baghdâd was in the habit of importing cases of medicines which included sulphate of quinine, chlorodyne, hospital pills, etc., in large quantities

for his hospital, in which all natives were treated gratis. Each time a consignment was brought into his house he found that all his tins and jars had been opened, and that many of them were half empty, and that large quantities of quinine, salts, pills, spirits of ginger, laudanum, and even lard (!) had been extracted. He would not give *bakhshîsh*, and he believed it to be his duty to bear all things, and endure all things in the pursuit of his high calling. At length a particularly exhaustive robbery of his drugs occurred, and at a time when there was much sickness in Baghdâd, and he caused representations to be made to the Baghdâd Government on the subject. In due course he was visited by a Turkish official from the Sarâyah, who openly admitted that the cases of drugs had been "examined," and that "specimens" of several drugs had been "retained." It was, he said, the duty of the Health Department to do this, because they were obliged by law to make sure that the medicines which were administered to the natives, even in charity, were of proper strength and unadulterated!

Another source of annoyance in Baghdâd to the traveller was the currency. There was a great deal of Turkish money of all kinds in the city, but no one would accept it, or have anything to do with it if he could possibly get rupees or annas, or the English sovereign. Pâshâ after Pâshâ had played tricks of all kinds with the currency, and robbed the public successfully. Besides this, certain unprincipled men bought up old and defaced moneys in Constantinople and elsewhere, and imported them into Baghdâd with the connivance of the authorities, and put them quietly into circulation. The chief sufferers were always the poorest classes of the people. The rupee and the sovereign were officially regarded as illegal tender, but the mercantile community used little else. On one occasion I had to transact a little business at the Sarâyah which involved the payment of money, but the "Şarrâf," or money-changer, refused to accept rupees and sovereigns, and I was obliged to go back to the bazâr and buy Turkish majîdis (dollars) at double their value. At certain times all money used to vanish suddenly in a most

extraordinary way, and then re-appear as suddenly. The lack of Turkish currency was so great at one time that certain native merchants employed a British firm of minters to make majidís¹ for them, which they successfully put in circulation, to the great astonishment of the Baghdád Government. One day, when bales of piece goods were being unloaded by a crane from the steamer, the sling broke, and one of the bales dropped on the quay. When it struck the quay the iron bands about the bale burst asunder, and its contents were scattered, and as the flat rolls of stuff were thrown about silver majidís began to roll about, to the amazement of all beholders. When the rolls were examined by the officers of Customs, they found that between every few layers of stuff there was a layer of brand new majidís. The steps then taken by the Mudír were characteristic, for he ordered that every bale and package unloaded from a steamer should be opened and searched before it was removed by the consignee. As he had no staff to carry out this long and difficult piece of work, the bales that were landed week by week from the steamers filled all the quays and every approach to the Custom House, and all business there came to a standstill for want of space. The Mudír's action in the matter was equally characteristic of the Turk. One afternoon he sent an order to all the merchants to remove their bales that night, but it was impossible for them to do so, because labour could not be found. On the following day the merchants were called upon to pay rent for the period during which their property had been detained on the quays by the Mudír, and a fine for not having removed it the night before, when called upon to do so.

The Baghdád Government was very severely criticised by both Europeans and natives when I was in Baghdád, but I found it difficult to see how this was to be avoided. The office of Wálí Pâshâ, or Governor, was always precarious, and on more than one occasion a

¹ The *majidí* مَجِيدِي or "dollar," a coin at that time worth about 3s. 4d.

Wâlî has been recalled to Constantinople by telegram. Many Wâlîs have been fine soldiers, but only one or two have shown themselves to be competent civil administrators. And the Wâlî who can cope with the astute Jew, and the wily Armenian Christian, and the fanatical Shi'ah, to say nothing of the Sunnis and Europeans, must be a man of exceptional ability. The officials of the Crown Lands were frequently at variance with the ordinary Government officials, and the Sultân's private interests and property were protected by them at all costs. The Wâlî was expected to maintain an army corps and effective police, and a Civil Service, and to keep in repair the Government buildings and the city walls, and to repair the canals and drain the country about Baghdâd, etc., and because of the insufficiency of his revenues after the Sultân's claims were satisfied he failed. Government servants in Baghdâd felt that they had a right to live, and when their salaries remained unpaid they adopted methods, which are as old as the world, of obtaining money for their wants. That Baghdâd was badly governed seemed to be certain, but considering how the Wâlî and his Mijlis (Council) were handicapped by the Porte, it has always appeared to me to be marvellous that the city was governed as well as it was.

BAGHDÂD, HILLAH, BIRS-I-NIMRÔD, AND BÂBIL.

HAVING found, thanks to Captain Butterworth, most comfortable quarters on his gunboat, the "Comet," I took my sheaf of letters of introduction from Lord Salisbury, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Edward Bradford, the Principal Librarian of the British Museum, and others, and went to the British Residency to wait upon the Consul-General, Colonel (later Major-General) W. Tweedie. I was "passed" after strict scrutiny by the Sikh Guard, and one official after the other led me to the Resident's private room, in which Rich, Taylor, Rawlinson, Plowden and others had built up British influence in Baghdâd. There I found Colonel Tweedie¹ seated at a large table

¹ His career was distinguished, and the following brief notes of it I have derived from a printed statement with which he was good enough to furnish me on November 30th, 1906. He entered as an Ensign of Infantry on the Bengal Establishment in January, 1857; carried the Colours of the 78th Highlanders throughout the Mutiny, and received the Mutiny Medal with two clasps, and the grant of one year's service. He passed the Government Examinations in Hindûstânî (Interpreter's test) and Persian (high proficiency standard). Was appointed Second Assistant to the Resident at the Nizâm's Court in Hydarâbâd in 1866. General Sir R. Napier made him his Political Secretary, and he went through the Abyssinian Campaign, being present at the battle of Arôgah, and at the assault on Magdalâ. He served as Assistant Resident at Hydarâbâd, and as Agent at Murshidâbâd in Bengal, and as Political Agent at the Court of H.H. the Maharâjah Scindia of Gualior. He was Political Secretary to Sir F. S. (later Lord) Roberts during the Afghan Campaign, and received the Afghan Medal, and was made a C.S.I. In 1880 he passed the Higher Standard Examination in Arabic, and he was Consul-General at Baghdâd and Political Resident for the Government of India in Turkish Arabia from 1885 to 1891. He was promoted from Colonel to Major-General on June 10th, 1893, and on October 10th his name was placed on the Unemployed List. His last appointment, as I learned from him, was little to his liking, for he regarded Baghdâd as a "backwater," and a "place of banishment." He died on

covered with books and Persian and Arabic manuscripts, and it was clear that he was engaged in some scholarly work which made reference to original authorities necessary. He was a tall, spare man, of military bearing, and he possessed the calm demeanour and the quiet dignity which I have noticed to be characteristic of the official who has had much experience in dealing with Orientals of high rank. He had shrewd, honest eyes, and regular features. On his head he wore a sort of turban cap, and he was wrapped in a very handsomely worked cloth

September 18th, 1914. The two following letters will explain the above note on his career.

I.

November 30th, 1906.

Dear Dr. Budge,—I am going up to London on Monday to consult Mr. Watson Cheyne, the eminent surgeon. It is possible that he will operate and that the chloroform will prove *final*. In any case I have lived since October 31st, 1836, and it is as natural to die as to live. I have no son, and no literary wife, to pen an obituary notice. It has occurred to me that should you see in the paper some morning that I am dead, you will not unwillingly found on the inclosed print some slight obituary notice for the "Athenæum," or some such Journal, of the old Baghdad "Beg." My only book you know well. From 1867 to 1904, my writings are thinly scattered over the pages of "Blackwood's Magazine," "Chambers's Journal," etc., etc. I am the laird of Lettrick; partly in the County of Dumfries, and partly in the "Stewartry" of Kirkcudbright: and a Justice of the Peace (*quantum valeat*) for both divisions of my native Scotland—i.e., for Dumfriesshire and for what we call "the Stewartry." Should Mr. Cheyne decide on operating, I shall have to hunt for a "Nursing Home" of which he will approve. By the way, my "Scheme for the endowment of research by post-graduation Students" has been brought to maturity in connection with my Alma Mater, the University of Edinburgh. In the fulness of time it will be heard of, and will, I hope, be productive of results commensurate with the brain-labour which I have expended on it time after time. But in a first obituary notice it would be premature to touch on this view of me; and the consternation of numerous expectant and disappointed relatives would be too disturbing.

I do not think that the chloroform will kill me. But I shall die ere very long *in the course of Nature*; and I ask the favour of your keeping this letter and its inclosure in your repositories till the fateful day shall come, and then doing as the spirit shall move you. I am sending a copy of the inclosed print to the Editor of *The Times*, so

cloak, for rooms in Baghdâd in February are cold, and the brazier, with its handful of burning charcoal, seems to emphasize the cold. He welcomed me with much courtesy, and then began to talk, not about my business, but about the Arabian horse! He described the perfect Arabian in great detail, and then went on to talk of the part which the animal had played in the history of the Arabs. He quoted Arabic and Persian writers in the original in support of his statements, and I soon realized that he was an accomplished Arabic and Persian scholar. I found out later that he had been engaged for many

that when his slaves of the lamp shall come to deal with my obituary notice they may be saved from blundering. With kindest remembrances, I remain, sincerely yours, W. Tweedie.

P.S.—When the time for the obituary shall come, you will speak of me as "General Tweedie," and not as "Colonel Tweedie," won't you? I sent to the Editor of *The Times* a copy of the print which I sent to you, and the Editor has acknowledged it most courteously. I shall die the *first* and the *last* laird of Lettrick (in Dumfriesshire).—W.T.

II.

On December 6th following I received this letter :

Dear Dr. Budge,—I write a few lines to thank you for your kind letter, and to tell you that Mr. Watson Cheyne has decided that my case does not admit of an operation; in other words, I am to die a "natural death," which means one that is neither prolonged nor cut short by the action of drugs or instruments. The obituary notice will thus not be wanted either to-day or to-morrow; but at three score and ten the Stygian ferry and "The Book of the Dead" become stern realities. I am hurrying back to Scotland, and never again shall I see the "roaring cauldron of stupid, prurulent, anarchic London," to use rather a stupid description by Thomas Carlyle—whose resemblance to the old, blaspheming, raving Prophets of Israel really was considerable—when one comes to think of it. The property of Craigenputtock (crag of the hawk), which he bequeathed to the Edinburgh University, marches with mine of "Lettrick" (Gaelic plural of *Let tir* = slope, or side, of a hill), which I too have bequeathed, as I told you, to the same Alma Mater. Thanking you for the piece of posthumous courtesy with which, when the fulness of time shall have come, and the remains of Abraham shall have been laid in the field which he purchased for that purpose, not from the Machpelah family, but from a friend of the name of Macintosh—it's all the same—you design to appease my Manes, if not in the *Athenæum*, in some other paper (not a "Society" one), I remain, sincerely yours, W. Tweedie.

years in writing a history of the Arabian horse, and in investigating the pedigrees of famous brood mares. As Baghdâd had for some centuries been the centre of the trade in horses he was able to learn much about his favourite animal both from the dealers in the city itself, and from the Arabs when they brought in their horses from the desert. And when his volume appeared¹ it at once became the standard authority on the Arabian horse. When he had finished with the horse he began to talk about Eastern affairs, and especially those of Turkey and Great Britain, and his prognostications about the former country have been fulfilled to the letter in recent years. The mere mention of the loss of prestige by the British in Baghdâd since Rawlinson's time affected him acutely.

Meanwhile I was wondering when he would reach my affairs, for though his talk was full of information and interest, and I learned a great deal about his own deep knowledge of Oriental affairs and his shrewdness, I did not see how it was going to help me in my immediate work. By degrees I realized that whilst the part of Colonel Tweedie which represented the scholar and the man of many interests was talking to me, the other part of him, which directed him in the performance of his official business, was thinking out the questions raised by my letters of introduction to him, and making ready his answers to them. At length he spoke about the object of my Mission, and from my notes of the conversation I find that he said something like the following: "Before you were admitted to this room I read the letters which you sent in to me from the gate. I feel myself greatly honoured, but I am unable to understand why such great scholars and diplomats have written them to me as if I had been their friend, when I have not even the pleasure of their acquaintance. I must warn you at once that I have no power in Baghdâd, either personally or officially.

¹ *The Arabian Horse, his Country and People. With portraits of typical or famous Arabians and other illustrations, etc.*, London, 1894, 4to.

Personally, I am a very humble Indian officer whom the Government of India has sent to Baghdád to live for a few years, and to qualify for a pension, and officially I am just a subordinate of Sir William White, dangling at the end of the telegraph wire from Constantinople. Sir Henry Rawlinson seems to think that I can be of great assistance to you, but he is mistaken. The influence of the British has declined greatly in Baghdád since his time, and if I were to knock together the heads of two recalcitrant members of the *Mijlis* (*i.e.*, Town Council), as it is said that he did in 1846, I should find myself made a prisoner in my Residency. Of course, personally, I should have been glad to have you here as a guest, but in the first place there is no accommodation in the Residency for guests, and in the second place I am sure you would rather be free from social and official restraint of every kind. You will, of course, eat with me whenever it suits you, and I can promise to give you a new kind of curry every night for a month at a stretch, so good a cook has God given me.

"Now as regards these Babylonian tablets, or whatever it is that you have come to seek for, I know nothing about them, and I must be quite honest and tell you that I have not, and never shall have, time to study such things. The letters which you brought me this morning tell me that you have been sent out here (1) to examine the sites which your employers, the Trustees of the British Museum, have excavated in whole or in part; (2) to find out which sites are properly watched and protected by the watchmen to whom, on your Trustees' behalf, I have paid money monthly; (3) to find out who steals tablets from your excavations; (4) to prevent further stealing. Very good. Now (1) had I been consulted in the matter I should have advised your Trustees not to employ natives, whether of Baghdád or Mōsul, as watchmen and overseers of your works, for they cannot be trusted. The men who excavate must be natives, but the overseers must be Europeans, in this case, naturally, British. (2) As to watching sites. In the first place you have no legal right to appoint watchmen at all, and

the fact that your overseer did so has made trouble between the Baghdâd Government and myself. Your watchmen have never been subject to any supervision or control, and when your overseer is in Turkey in Asia he usually lives in Baghdâd. (3) The Trustees should select a set of sites and dig them out thoroughly, one after the other; but their overseer has begun to excavate a dozen at least, and none of them is finished. (4) You cannot watch all these sites, and you cannot, in any case, prevent the natives from digging secretly and carrying off the tablets. All these things I should have told Sir Henry Rawlinson had he done me the honour to consult me, and I suggest that you make notes of them, and report to your Chief accordingly.

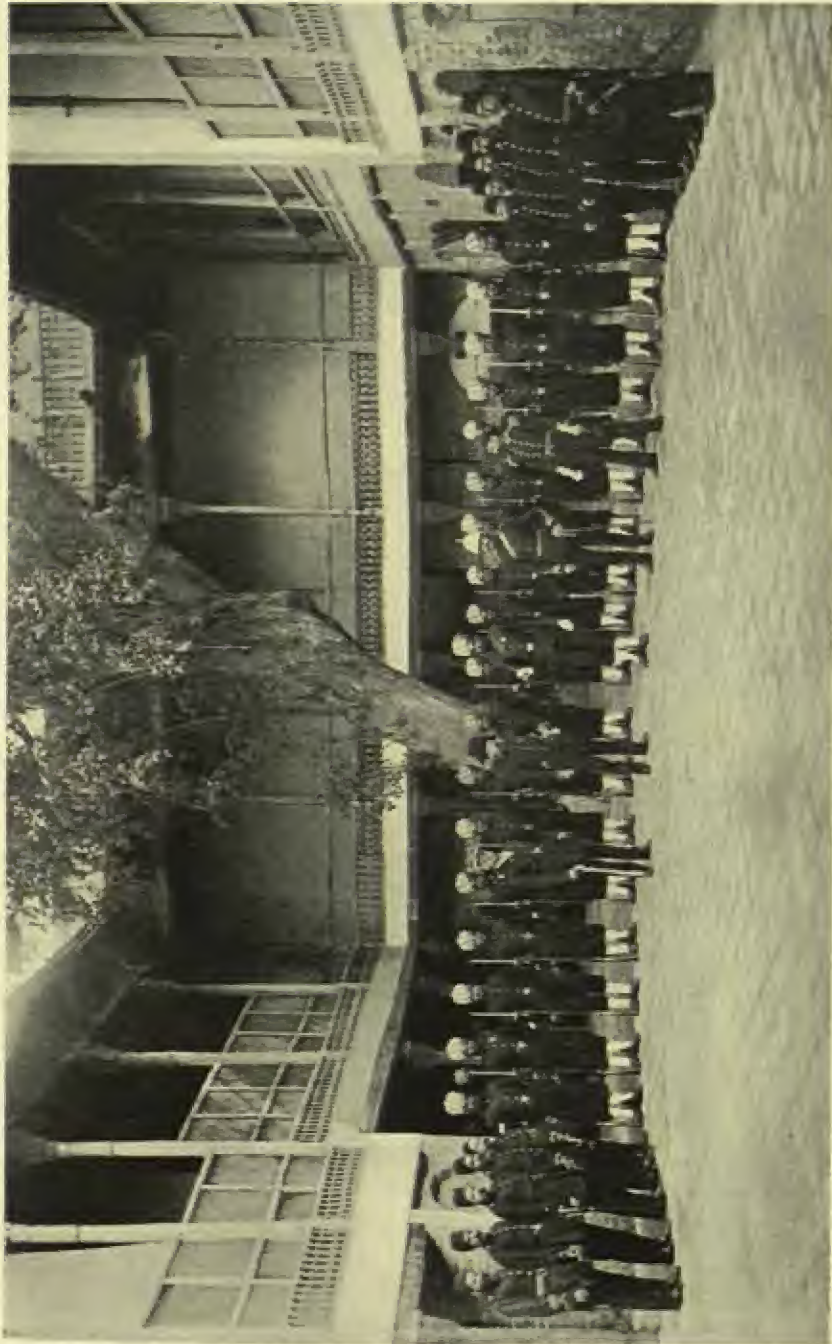
"About the sites where your overseer excavated I know nothing personally, but Badrî Beg, the Turkish Inspector of Antiquities who was sent here to watch excavations, has come to me from time to time with complaints and protestations. He complains of the want of system which is exhibited in the excavations which have been made for the British Museum, especially on the important sites of Abû Habbah, Tall Ibrâhîm, Bâbil and Birs-i-Nimrûd. He says also that the natives who dig for the British Museum arrange their clearances in such a way that their friends can easily continue the work by night, and secure whatever is found, without much trouble. A very serious result of this night work is that large numbers of valuable tablets are smashed or mutilated, or cut in halves. The Inspector asserts that when your overseer was working at the Kaşr (*i.e.*, the Fortress of Babel), his men worked in collusion with the diggers for bricks to sell for building purposes. It is well that Sir Henry Rawlinson has instructed you to visit all the sites between Baghdâd and Hillah, where your Trustees have excavated, and you should do so without delay. I suggest that you take with you someone who has a perfect knowledge of Arabic, and who is not a native, so that you may be quite certain that you miss none of the information which your interpreter will, no doubt, extract from the natives at the various sites.

"There is yet another matter I must speak of, and it concerns you personally. Badrî Beg has already found out the purposes for which you have come to Baghdâd, and he came to me yesterday with a copy of the Iradê, which deals with the excavation of ancient sites in Turkish Arabia. He called my attention to the paragraphs which prohibit all dealing in antiquities, whether by natives or Europeans, and all exportation of antiquities, and to those which empower the local Government officials to confiscate all purchases of antiquities, and to arrest and imprison both the buyer and seller. I therefore advise you to visit the sites of excavations, and to make any and every inquiry you please, but to abandon all idea of buying tablets either here or in Hillah or Babylon. If you feel that you are unable to accept my advice, and persist in buying tablets, and you get into difficulties with the Turkish authorities, remember that it will be useless to come to me for assistance. It is my duty to support the Baghdâd Government in giving effect to the laws which concern dealing in antiquities, and I intend to do my duty. If I did not, complaints would be forwarded to the Porte, and it is more than likely that when they were transmitted to Sir William White he would call upon me for an explanation, and I have no wish to come into conflict with him. One word more. Much business is done in tablets in Baghdâd, and I am told that the dealers and the officials of the Government in some way work together. Whether this be so or not, I advise you not to try to find out." Then, quoting an old Oriental story about the wolf which tried to peer into the affairs of a certain fox and a camel, and lost an eye and an ear in consequence, he rose and invited me to lunch in another room.

During lunch Colonel Tweedie entertained me with many interesting stories about Baghdâd and the difficulty which he had in dealing with its Government, and the courteous official with the masked face, with whom I had been talking in his work-room, entirely disappeared in the genial and friendly host. And he gave me many hints which in later days served me in good stead.

After lunch we went into the state room of the Residency, and he showed me the portraits of Queen Victoria, Stratford Canning, Rawlinson, and many other great and distinguished persons. Among them was an oil-painting of Ikbal ad-Dawlah,¹ Nawâb of Oudh, a great friend of Rawlinson, who had visited England and stayed there for some time. He was very proud of his travels, and in his picture, which was painted by some distinguished artist, he was seen wearing a large fur cap with lappets, which formed a heavy frame to his face, and a magnificent fur coat which reached to his feet. Before him, on the level of his chest, he was holding up by the handle with both hands a huge portmanteau, which he bought in England, and with which he travelled. This picture was hung, by his special request, in the Residency, so that everyone who visited the state room on ceremonial occasions might know that he was a great traveller, and had been to England on a visit to Rawlinson. Colonel Tweedie then took me into parts of the Residency which had not been occupied for some years, and as most of the furniture, curtains, carpets, etc., dated from the time of Rawlinson (from about 1840 to 1852), and the rest from the time of C. J. Rich, the first British Consul-General of Baghdâd (1808 to 1821), I was very glad to see such old and fine examples of native work. I greatly admired the effect of the stained-glass windows, of which, until then, I had seen no examples. The very deep framework for the glass was made of plaster, and not lead, and as the little bits of coloured glass were of all sorts and sizes, and arranged in all sorts of intricate patterns, the effect was most pleasing. In the room in which Rawlinson used to entertain the Wâli and his notables I saw the diwâns on which they sat, and standing before each was a splendid pipe, with a stem many feet in length. The stems of the official state pipes were beautifully decorated with Persian

¹ Many stories are told of him by Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, p. 188 ff. On the history of Oudh see H. C. Irwin, *Garden of India*, London, 1880.



The Courtyard of the British Residency at Bagdad with the Sikh Guard and staff.

enamel, agates, turquoises and silver bosses, and the mouthpieces were of old very red amber, bound with silver. The two most splendid pipes were used by the Resident and the Wâli Pâshâ, or someone of higher rank, and the less splendid pipes were used by the less important notables, who were always carefully graded by the master of the ceremonies. From this part of the Residency an arch led over "Residency Street" to another building, which was specially reserved for the "harîmât," or ladies who belonged to visitors, servants, etc.

On our way back to the main building I saw a little man, wearing a black skull-cap, coming towards us with a batch of papers in his hand. He was advanced in years, and his face was much wrinkled and yellow, but his large dark eyes were bright and keen, and his movements were vigorous. He wore a suit made of some stuff like black broadcloth, and a white shirt with starched collar, front, and cuffs, and there was about his whole appearance a something which reminded me of the picture by "Phiz" of Mr. Tulkinghorn, of Lincoln's Inn Fields.¹ Colonel Tweedie called him "Ya'kûb" simply, and introduced him to me as his confidential clerk, and then, saying that as we should often meet to discuss business we had better get acquainted with each other, he left us. Immediately Colonel Tweedie turned his back, Ya'kûb, who had found out that I had brought letters from Rawlinson, overwhelmed me with questions about him. How was he? When did I see him last? Was it true that he was married and had sons? And so on, as fast as he could speak. In answer to my questions he told me that he had been employed in the Residency all his life, and that of all the Consuls-General whom he had served he respected and loved and admired Rawlinson most of all. In knowledge and learning he was, he said, "like God," as a horseman he was like Anṭar, as a king he was like Nimrod, and when he spoke at the Mijlis (i.e., Town Council) of Baghdâd the heart of the Wâli Pâshâ melted,

¹ See Dickens, *Bleak House*, plate "The old man of the name of Tulkinghorn," facing p. 536 of the Oxford Edition.

and the knees of his councillors gave way under them. I asked if Rawlinson really did sit on the Mijlis, and Ya'kûb said, "Yes, whenever they were going to meet they informed him, and he went and listened to their discussions, and prevented them from doing things of which he did not approve, and I was with him, and wrote down what he told me to write." I asked him if it was true that Rawlinson had knocked together the heads of two Pâshâs¹ who were quarrelling at one of the meetings of the Mijlis, as Colonel Tweedie had said, and he replied, "Quite true; that day the Baliôs was like a lion." I noticed that Ya'kûb always referred to Rawlinson as the "Baliôs," or "Baliôs Beg,"² titles which had dropped out of use among the younger generations of Bagdadis. He told me story after story of his old master, and as a sort of peroration said to me, "Bâshâ, I tell you truth. The Baliôs Beg lived here for twelve years, and each year his power in the country became stronger. And towards the end of his time here had he taken one dog, and put his English hat on his head and sent him to the Serai, all the people in the bazâr would have made way for him, and bowed to him, and the soldiers would have stood still and presented arms to him as he passed, and the officials in the Serai would have embraced him; and if he had sent another dog with another of his hats across the river to Kâzimên, the Shi'ites and Sunnites would have stopped fighting each other, and would have asked him to drink coffee with them."

That same afternoon I had a long interview with Badrî Beg, the Turkish Inspector of Excavations, whom Colonel Tweedie had mentioned, and he expressed disapproval of the unsystematic character of the British Museum excavations which he himself had examined. He complained that many sites had been worked at, each for a few days only, and that they had been abandoned by our overseer. He described the difficulties which attended the purchase of tablets and their export from

¹ He told me their names, but I forgot to make a note of them.

² Buckingham, *Travels*, ii, p. 214, mentions this title. It is probably a corrupt transcription of the Greek βασιλεύς.

Baghdâd, and proposed that I should commission him to act as buyer for the Museum. When I explained that this was impossible he showed no ill-feeling, but promptly said that he would do his utmost to persuade Hamdî Bey and the Porte to renew our permit to make excavations. In return he begged me to propose that the appointment as Delegate to watch our excavations on behalf of the Porte, if the permit were obtained, should be given to him, and I thanked him and agreed to do so. He complained that our overseer had treated him badly, and had not paid him properly for his services, and had not, when the work was done, given him a suitable *bakhshtsh*, or gift. There he was stranded at Baghdâd, with no work, and no money to take him back to Constantinople, and I gathered that his salary was not paid regularly.

As we walked through the bazâr he introduced me to a friend of his, who spoke French and Italian, and who was personally acquainted with all the dealers in Baghdâd, and Badrî Beg asked him to take me to them. We settled the terms of payment for his services, and then I went with him to houses in various parts of the town where collections of tablets were to be seen. The dealers showed me their collections willingly, and among them was a firm of three brothers who had many cases full of fine old Babylonian tablets from Abû Habbah, Jum-jumah,¹ and other places where the Trustees made excavations. The brothers made no secret of the matter, and told me that some of the tablets had been in their possession for some five or six years, and that they had obtained them by making an arrangement with our overseer. Whether these statements were true or not I had no means of knowing, but the existence of the tablets corroborated what they said, and I was certain that the tablets there before me and those which I knew of in the British Museum all came from one and the same place. At another house I saw many hundreds of contract tablets of the last Babylonian Empire and of the Persian Period, and I recognized that these tablets were of the

¹ Pronounced "Jimjimah" locally; the word means "skull."

same class as those which were found in such large numbers at Ibrâhîm al-Khalîl near Birs-i-Nimrûd. I made notes of the numbers of the tablets in the collections which were offered to me, and of the general character of the contents of the tablets, and also of the names of the owners of the collections, and as the daylight was nearly gone I deferred the process of bargaining until the following day. I was astonished to see such large collections of tablets, for most of them numbered many hundreds.

When I returned to the "Comet" I remembered that the Trustees' overseer of excavations, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, had given me letters to the chief watchmen in Baghdâd, and on looking at them I saw that the names of the men to whom they were addressed were those of the dealers who had offered me collections of tablets that afternoon. Thus it was clear that the watchmen who were paid by the British Museum to protect their excavations were openly engaged in selling tablets which they as openly admitted came from these excavations. I sent these letters to the addressees by messengers, and did not deliver them personally. This I did on the advice of those who understood the customs of Baghdâd better than I did. I heard later that the natives to whom these letters were addressed considered that the delivery of them by messenger was an insult to their dignity, because the contents of the letters gave them to understand that I had come to Baghdâd to work under their directions. On the following day I negotiated the purchase of the collections offered by the Trustees' watchmen; and I agreed to pay per tablet at the rate of about one-tenth of the price which we should have paid for them in London. As it was the dealers made about 300 per cent. on the transaction! When Mr. George Clarke, General Manager of the firm of Stephen Lynch Brothers, paid for the tablets on behalf of the Trustees, he took care that these watchmen dealers signed their names in full, and thus we obtained written proof of their dishonesty. The purchases being concluded, I packed the tablets in baskets, and they were taken on



To face p. 235, vol. I.



A Babylonian tablet and its case. The text refers to certain property which Erishtum shared with her sister Amat-shamash. Reign of Sin-muballit, King of Babylon, about B.C. 2220.

Brit. Mus., No. 92658.

board the "Comet," which was lying off the Residency.

During the next few days I found that a great many natives possessed collections of tablets from Abû Habbah, and other sites, which they were most anxious to sell, and they urged me to buy them on the ground that they came from the British Museum excavations. Wives and daughters of some of the dealers also possessed collections, and they stimulated business by offering their "pillows"¹ (as Babylonian tablets, on account of their shape, were called colloquially) at lower prices than I had paid the day before. Each day, as their anxiety to sell increased, the prices of the dealers decreased, and I felt convinced that many of them must have obtained their tablets for nothing. I also felt convinced that they had concocted some scheme to cheat me in the end, but I acquired their tablets all the same, and knowing that once on board the "Comet" they could not be seized by the authorities, I was not alarmed.

Very soon I realized that the authorities had found out that I was buying tablets, and that they suspected my purchases were being conveyed to the "Comet," for the Mudîr of Customs sent men in boats to watch all visitors to the gunboat, and gave them orders to prevent men from taking to the ship anything except food. And they favoured me personally with a good deal of attention, and were very troublesome in a polite way. But even a "tender-foot" like myself in Baghdâd would not attempt to take on board baskets of tablets in broad daylight, and the tablets were deposited in a *ḫuffah* on the west bank of the river, and taken on board the "Comet" after nightfall by the ladder on the side of the ship which did not face the official buildings on the east bank. As the Mudîr's men could not see in the dark, and as they had been ordered to watch only the main ladder which I used, they naturally reported that they had not seen me carrying tablets to the ship. I was puzzled by the readiness with which the dealers sold their

¹ *Mikhaddât*, مِخْدَات.

tablets, and their willingness to accept my offers, which seemed ludicrous when compared with the prices which ruled in England; but I went on buying tablets by day, and at night Captain Butterworth and myself sawed wood and made boxes of a convenient size, and packed the tablets in them in jute. At the same time we repacked the eighty-two tablets from Tall al-'Amârnah, which I had been obliged to bring with me from Suez to Baghdâd, owing to the difficulties which attended my attempts to export them from Egypt to England. When all the boxes, twenty-five in number, were packed, they were stored in the hold of the "Comet."

Two days later my puzzle about the dealers' anxiety to sell was solved. The dealers and the authorities had made the following arrangement together: The dealers were to sell me as many tablets as possible, and were to tell the authorities how many they had sold. Then, when I was about to leave Baghdâd, I was to be arrested and all my possessions searched, and the tablets were to be confiscated, and handed back to the dealers for a consideration. The authorities, urged by Badrî Beg, wished to take action some days before, but they did nothing because (1) the dealers swore that they had not sold me any tablets; (2) the watchers on the river reported that no tablets had been taken on board the "Comet" by or for me. When I heard of the plan I told each dealer in confidence that I was going to Hillah the following week, and the dealers told the authorities that I was going to Hillah to buy tablets. As this appeared to be the only sensible thing for a man to do who wanted tablets, they believed the dealers when they swore they had sold me no tablets, and they withdrew their boats from the blockade of the "Comet," and I ceased to be a visitor of special interest.

Meanwhile I felt that it was absolutely necessary to find some way of getting the tablets out of Baghdâd, and of starting them on their way to England, but that way did not at once appear. Whilst Captain Butterworth and I were discussing one plan after another, good fortune or luck opened a way for me, and solved my difficulty.

Colonel Tweedie received a telegram one evening from the Government of India, informing him that Ayûb Khân was about to visit India on business of state, and that he intended to travel thither viâ Baghdâd. Colonel Tweedie was directed to assist His Highness in every possible way, and to place the "Comet" at his disposal as a means of transport for himself and his ḥarîmât and his retinue. He was also to arrange with the British Consul at Baṣrah for the transshipment of the illustrious guest and his retinue to the British-India Mail Steamer without delay, and with as little inconvenience to the royal ladies as possible. The telegram to Colonel Tweedie gave no idea of the number of Ayûb Khân's retinue, and the question of entertaining the august party in Baghdâd was a serious matter for him. If they were to stay in Baghdâd even for a couple of days he would be obliged to open all the closed rooms of the Residency, and prepare the ḥarîm and the stables for their use, which would prove a costly undertaking for him personally; and the stay of two days might easily become one of seven, for Oriental potentates and their followers usually travel slowly when their ladies are with them. Colonel Tweedie decided that it was best to arrange for His Highness to embark on the "Comet" immediately after his arrival in Baghdâd, and he gave Captain Butterworth orders to have the ship made ready to receive him, and to sail as soon as the party was on board. He then obtained authority from the Baghdâd Government for the "Comet" to run alongside the British-India Mail Steamer at Baṣrah, so that the transfer of the august passengers and their baggage might be effected with the least possible inconvenience to them; and he stipulated that the Customs' examination by the Turkish officials in Baṣrah should be of a perfunctory character.

As soon as Captain Butterworth had read Colonel Tweedie's orders the possibilities of the situation flashed upon us at once, and we saw the difficulty of exporting the tablets vanish. I should have to find new quarters, but the boxes of tablets would remain on the "Comet," and would go with Captain Butterworth to Baṣrah,

where the Customs' examination would be reduced to a formality, and where he could ship them by the Mail Steamer to England. He regarded the boxes of tablets as the property of the British Government, which I had delivered to his care for shipment from Baṣrah to England, and he undertook to address them to the Principal Librarian of the British Museum, and to despatch them thither as "valuables." Under this description they would be stowed in the mail-room of the steamer to Bombay, and so be free from any Customs' examination.

Meanwhile Colonel Tweedie had sent out horsemen on the road to the Persian frontier, with orders to report to him when Ayûb Khân was arriving, and two days later the advance guards of his escort appeared a few miles from the city. His Highness arrived early in the afternoon, and was met by Colonel Tweedie and his guard of Sikhs, who escorted him to the Residency, where he remained whilst his ladies and retinue and their baggage were embarking on the "Comet." When the embarkation was finished, His Highness accompanied by Colonel Tweedie went on board, and at sundown the steamer started for Baṣrah, carrying my boxes of tablets with her. On the morning of the third day the "Comet," after making an unusually quick passage, arrived in Baṣrah, and went alongside the Mail Steamer, and transhipped the august party and the boxes of tablets, which the Customs' authorities considered to be the property of His Highness, without any hitch or difficulty. Before I left Baghdâd for Hillah I had the satisfaction of knowing that the tablets were safe in the mail-room of the British-India Mail Steamer, and were on their way to England via Bombay. My native friends and acquaintances on the Tigris declared that I enjoyed the "Luck of Allah" (*naṣīb Allah*), and rejoiced exceedingly, but I reminded them that Allah's luck was assisted by Captain Butterworth and an English friend at Baṣrah, and that next to Allah they must be thanked. But nothing could shake their belief that I was specially favoured by Allah, and this belief made them give me assistance which otherwise would not have been rendered.

The news of this little bit of successful smuggling soon went from one end of the Persian Gulf to the other, and the British communities at Bushire, Muscat, etc., rejoiced that a valuable collection of Babylonian antiquities had been secured for the British Museum. On my return to England I found that the news had already reached London, and those who were not my friends, as well as some who were, criticized my action severely, and openly accused me of "stealing" tablets which were the property of the Turkish Government. Some went so far as to say that my behaviour on the Tigris was calculated to embroil Great Britain with Turkey, and that I had disgraced my employers, the Trustees of the British Museum; and one gentleman visited me at the British Museum, and advised me to resign my appointment, and leave London before I was made to do so. Those who made the most outcry were the archæological Pecksniffs, who nevertheless applied for special permission to examine the tablets, and for facilities for copying the valuable texts inscribed on them, with a view to publication. But I had a perfectly clear conscience about this bit of smuggling, and besides this, I felt that I had only done what anyone would have done who had the welfare of Babylonian and Assyrian Archæology and his employers' interests at heart. Apart from the stories which were told me at Bushire, and Fâw, and Baṣrah and Baghdâd by Europeans and natives alike, I saw for myself and was firmly convinced that more than nine-tenths of the tablets came from the sites which the Trustees had spent some thousands of pounds in excavating. Moreover, I saw that they belonged to the same sets as tablets in the British Museum that unquestionably came from those sites. Had the supervision of the sites been better, and had proper precautions been taken, these tablets would have left Baghdâd five or six years before, and would not then have been in possession of the dealers there; and they would have been allowed to leave Baghdâd by the Turkish Government without demur under the *saramân*, or permit, which they granted to the Trustees in the name of Mr. H. Rassam. In buying these tablets

and smuggling them out of Turkey in Asia, I felt that I was merely recovering for my employers, the Trustees, property which had been stolen from them. The only regret that entered my mind was that I was obliged to spend more public money on the recovery of property, on the acquisition of which the Trustees had originally spent considerable sums. Moreover, Rawlinson had told me to secure whatever ancient Babylonian tablets were to be had in Baghdâd or elsewhere on the Tigris and Euphrates "at all costs and at all hazards," for, said he, "money is not to be considered when the possession of such objects is at stake. Money lost, or spent, or stolen, may be replaced, but tablets lost to the British Museum might as well not exist. Therefore, with all your gettings, get tablets."

Though my critics condemned my action at Baghdâd, they had no alternative course to suggest in the event of my being faced with a similar difficulty on a subsequent occasion. No doubt the proper course would have been for me to have claimed the tablets as stolen goods in the law courts at Baghdâd, but the reader will gather from what I have said of the administration of justice in the East that cases are not always decided on their merits there. Had I claimed the tablets as stolen goods, the law courts would assuredly not have given a verdict in favour of the Trustees, for even had they been satisfied that I had proved my claim, the judges would have referred the decision to a higher tribunal, most probably to the courts in Stambûl. Whilst the case was being tried the tablets would have disappeared. It is possible that by resorting to bribery a decision in favour of the Trustees might have been obtained from the courts, but the moral obliquity on my part would not have been less, and the bribery, to have been effective, would have been far more expensive than mere smuggling. At all events, the only alternative to smuggling was bribery. It may be argued by some that the Trustees had forfeited their claims to the tablets by letting them go astray, but the Trustees had spared neither time nor expense in trying to get the tablets by the ordinary

lawful methods sanctioned by the Porte, and they had no jurisdiction in Mesopotamia. It may also be said that if the tablets were to go to a museum, they ought to have gone to the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople. That may be, but the tablets were in the possession of Turkish subjects in Turkish territory, and their owners sold them to me, the Turkish authorities being, apparently, powerless to prevent their doing so. If the Turkish authorities could not enforce their own laws and take possession of the tablets, and make the Ministry of Instruction send them to their own museum in Constantinople, I could not see that it was my business to help them. I had to decide whether the tablets should go to Berlin, or France, or America, or to the British Museum, for there was not the remotest chance of their going to Constantinople, and I determined that they should go to the British Museum, and so I bought them. It was exactly the same in Egypt, although the Trustees had no claim at all on the Tall al-'Amârnah Tablets. Had I not come to a decision at once, and taken the eighty-two tablets when I had the chance of getting them, they would certainly have gone to the Berlin Museum, or into the possession of some private collector, or anywhere except to the Government Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo. When the Directors of Museums in the East make it worth the while of natives to bring their "finds" to them, nothing of importance will find its way to Europe or America.

Having thus disposed of my purchases, I began to make my arrangements for carrying out the rest of my instructions, and visiting all the sites of the Trustees' excavations between Baghdâd and Hillah. As the spring was at hand, and the rise of the Tigris and Euphrates might be expected to take place very soon, I decided not to attempt to reach Niffar (though subsequently I was able to visit Abû Shahrên, Muḳayyar, etc., which were the scenes of the excavations of Loftus, Taylor and Rawlinson), for I had no wish to become a prisoner among the swamps of Lower Babylonia. Mr. and Mrs. G. Clarke very kindly offered me hospitality

when the departure of the "Comet" left me without a lodging, and I gratefully accepted their offer. I was thus enabled to benefit by Mr. Clarke's great knowledge of the country, and his practical suggestions saved me much time and trouble, and helped on my work. The greatest difficulty I had was to find a European who knew Arabic well, and who had experience in dealing with desert tribes, to go with me, as Colonel Tweedie had suggested. Mr. Clarke said that there was only one man known to him who was qualified in every way to help me, namely, Mr. A. B. W. Holland,¹ the son of Captain A. C. Holland, I.N., who was in the employ of Messrs. Lynch Brothers, and he was willing to suggest to him that he should make the journey to Hillah with me. Mr. Holland could read, write and speak fluently every language spoken in Baghdâd except Hebrew and Armenian, and in the course of his long business training he had developed into a shrewd and practical man of affairs. When the matter was mentioned to him he entered into the project with great zeal, and undertook to make the

¹ Mr. Holland was born at Baghdâd on November 2nd, 1853. He entered the service of Stephen Lynch Brothers, of Baghdâd, in 1872, and in 1897 was appointed by them to establish a branch house at Shushtar with the view of opening up Ahwâz, Dizfûl and the country round about to British trade. During the four years in which he lived in Shushtar he was frequently in great personal danger, owing to the fanaticism of the inhabitants. In 1901 he resigned and joined the "Exploiting Concession Syndicate," which was subsequently taken over by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and he occupied the important position of Superintendent of Transport until 1910. During the thirteen years which he spent on the Kârûn and in its neighbourhood he became a dominant British influence in Persia, and his knowledge of Persian and Arabic dialects enabled him to conclude negotiations satisfactorily with the suspicious and warlike tribes on both banks of the Kârûn. He superintended the transport of machinery and heavy material across the roadless countries, and through the marshes and over the hills which lie between Baghdâd and Kasr Shirin, Ahwâz, Mamatén, and Maidân-i-Naftûn, a work which, but for his tact and resourcefulness and courage, could never have been completed. The service which he rendered to the British Museum and to myself was honorary, and I am very glad to take this opportunity of expressing my obligation to him.

necessary preparations for our journey. At the last moment Mr. (afterwards Captain) John Somerset proposed to join our little caravan, and we welcomed him warmly, for he was full of fun and humour, and nothing disturbed his equanimity. Though he held the responsible post of First Officer on the steamship "Khalifah," and had spent some years in the country, his joy at the mere idea of setting out on a "jaunt to Babylon" was indescribable. He possessed all the brightness of a high-spirited boy, and to the delight of his friends he never "grew up." When he died a few years later he was greatly missed.

In a very few days we were ready to take the road. As the authorities suggested that we should hire an escort of soldiers, and in other ways showed far more interest in our proposed journey than we thought necessary, we decided not to leave the city by the bridge of boats. One morning, therefore, at dawn, we quietly dropped down the river in a kuffah, and landed at the southern end of the Khur, about five miles down-stream from the city. Here we found our horses and the baggage animals, which had been sent on at different times the day before, and as soon as they were loaded up we started. It was a miserable morning, for rain was falling heavily, and the clay soil was very slippery, and in many places the track had disappeared in pools of mud and water; and a mist hung in the air about twenty feet above the ground. We followed the well-known track, and soon reached the ruined Khân, or Guest-house, of Chukwah. On the right, beyond a plain covered with sage brush and other desert herbage, we saw Tall Abyad (White Hill), and on the left Tall Aswad (Black Hill). After about two hours we came to the burnt and scattered ruins of Mákhúzé, a city which flourished in the early centuries of the Christian Era and probably took the place of Seleucia, which lay further eastward on the river. These ruins lay to the left of our track, and on the right we saw series of long low mounds, which Felix Jones¹

¹ *Researches in the Vicinity of the Median Wall of Xenophon*, submitted to Government February 10th, 1851, and printed in *Bombay Govt. Records*. No. XLIII, New Series, Bombay, 1857, p. 216.

identified as parts of the great Median Wall of Xenophon (*Anabasis*, ii, 4, 12).

At Khân az-Zâd, which lay to the right, we halted for forty minutes, and then crossed the bed of the Nahar Malkâ,¹ or "Royal Canal," which was dug by Nebuchadnezzar II, and came to Tall Kuṭṭârah. A little further south we passed on the left several low mounds covered with very dark stones, similar in colour to those which I have seen scattered about in several places on the Island of Meroë, in the Egyptian Sûdân. Many of the smaller stones had shining surfaces, and they looked as if they had been brushed over with a preparation of iron. About this time the rain ceased suddenly, and the sun broke through the mists, and the damp heat which resulted was well-nigh intolerable. We turned aside to look at the mound called Shûntûnî, but saw no ruins there, and then went on to Tall Agêli. We then turned off to look at the mounds of Shêshabar,² where there were large numbers of sun-dried bricks, which seemed to me to belong to a comparatively late period. We intended to continue our journey from this place, but the whole district was flooded, and we had to return to Tall Agêli, and follow the ordinary caravan route, which lay along the tops of pebbly ridges and skirted shallow pools of water many square miles in extent.

From Tall Agêli we went direct to the famous Guest-house, or Rest-house, which the Turks called "Orta Khân," or "Half-way Khân," because they believe that it lies exactly half-way between Baghdâd and Hilla, but such is not the case, according to my informants in Baghdâd.³ The Arabs call it "Khân Bîr an-nuṣf," or

¹ Or Nahr al-Malik. It took off from the Euphrates at Al-Fallûjah and ran into the Tigris two or three miles below Madâin (see Ammianus xxiv, 6, 1). When it became choked merchants left the Euphrates with their goods at Al-Fallûjah, and marched overland to Baghdâd. The Arabs attribute the making of this canal to Solomon or Alexander the Great.

² More correctly Shêkh Shûbar, a Muslim saint, whose tomb stood near the mounds.

³ The half-way stage between Baghdâd and Hilla is Al-Farâshah, which lies a few miles to the north of the Kûthâ Canal, the modern ḥabl Ibrâhîm. See also G. le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 69.

"the Khân of the well of the half."¹ The great feature of the place is the well, which is very deep. The descent to the water is made by means of a flight of steps. The age and builder of the well are unknown, but it seemed to me to be very old, and the general form of it suggested that it was the work of the tenth or eleventh century of our era. Many of the natives call the well "Bir Yûnis," or "Well of Jonah," as they called it in the days of Rich² and Buckingham,³ and a legend is current to the effect that the prophet Jonah used to stop and drink water from it on his journeys to and from Nineveh. When we arrived at Bir an-nuṣf the sun was about to set, and the keeper of the Khân pressed us to pass the night there, but the evening was calm and clear, and we determined, much against the wishes of the animals, to press on to sleep at Khân Iskandariyah. We saw a number of hawks floating gracefully in the air, but whether they were of the species which Rich mentions we could not tell.

After leaving Bir an-nuṣf, the track ran through much cultivated land, and the beautiful vivid green of the wheat covered the ground like a carpet of emeralds. As the darkness fell the barking of foxes and the wailings of the jackals added to the weirdness of the march, and the restlessness of two or three of the horses was said by our chief baggage man to be due to the presence of wolves. We mended our pace, and at 7.30, by which time it was quite dark, we were knocking at the great gate of Khân Iskandariyah, where, as the horses knew, there were grain and clean cool water to be had.

There has always been a Khân at Iskandariyah, but that to which we were seeking admission was built during the eighteenth century by Muḥammad Ḥuṣṣen Khân, a Persian Amîr ad-Dawlah, who intended it to be

¹ *I.e.*, بئر النصف. Pietro della Valle spells the name Bir-ennôs, and rightly translates it "well of the half" (che credo che significhi pozzo del mezzo . . . c'è senza dubbio pozzo o altra sorte d'acqua).—Lettera XVII, ed. Gancia, Brighton, 1843, tomo i, p. 387.

² *Memoir*, p. 47.

³ *Travels* ii, 245.

used by the Persian pilgrims on their way to Masjid 'Ali and Masjid Husên, which lie across the Euphrates, beyond Hillah. This Khân is a large rectangular building, and in the inside courtyard there was room for many hundreds of men and beasts. Along each of three walls was a row of small stalls for beasts, and a row of small cubicles for men; all these opened on the court. Along the length of the court ran two raised brick benches, on which guests could rest in the open air, and at intervals were stakes to which beasts might be tethered. A very prominent feature of the courtyard was the Mihrâb, or decorated niche in the wall, which indicated to the believer the *kiblah*, or direction in which a man must face who would pray towards Makkah. The pious builders of such Khâns intended them to be used free of charge by pilgrims and poor travellers, and as a matter of fact no inmate pays any rent. But custom has sanctioned that the keeper of the Khân, who employs men to clean the courtyard, stalls and cubicles, shall be rewarded for his pains and expense by a small present from each guest; and if he supplies grain, firewood, and other necessities for man and beast, he must, of course, be paid for them at the ordinary market rate. The wise traveller makes friends with the khânjî (*i.e.*, keeper of the Khân) at the earliest opportunity.

When the bolts were withdrawn, and one of the huge doors opened, Mr. Holland was subjected to close questioning by the vigilant khânjî who wanted to know who we were, whence we came, where we were going, what our names were, and, above all, why we were on the road so late, for it was the third hour of the night. Ranged behind the keeper were several inmates, some with lanterns and some with torches, and they asked more questions than the khânjî himself. These were merchants and men of substance, who were most anxious that thieves and footpads should not be admitted to the Khân, being fearful lest their goods should be stolen. Meanwhile the horses heard the animals inside eating their suppers, and they began to whinny and give little squeals, and dance about in a way which made conversation



Khan Iskandariyah.

difficult. Then Mr. Holland got down, and went to the khânji and said, "O my father, O my dear, we be tired and hungry, and have ridden since the dawn. This (pointing to me) is my brother, who is not like us men of ignorance, but is a man of learning, and a Mufattish (inspector) from the Antiquity-House of the British Government in London, and a sealer of secrets (khâtim al-isrâr). This (pointing to Mr. Somerset) is a Bash-mahandiz (chief engineer), and a "Kapitan" (captain), who makes the *wâbûrât* (steamers) travel up the river as fast as horses gallop over the desert. Here are three majidîs for thy grace in admitting us this night, and it shall be well with thee and with us." Whether it was Mr. Holland's honeyed words or the silver dollars which removed all doubt about us from the khânji's mind, I cannot say, but we were admitted without delay, and the onlookers gave us "Peace!" and wished us a happy night.

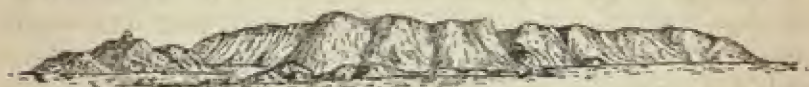
As soon as the khânji assigned us a place we bought grain, and being tired I suggested that I should sit by the side of the horses whilst they ate their suppers, and see that nothing was stolen from them. Meanwhile my companions sent for water and wood, and whilst these were being fetched they got our waterproof sheets down and our beds unrolled. In a very short time we had a good fire going, and water for tea and soup boiling, and with the addition of a couple of braziers and our candle lanterns, our part of the Khân looked very comfortable. As we ate I looked about me, and the sight I saw was the strangest I had ever beheld. Above the courtyard was the liquid, transparent, ultramarine blue sky, with its great diamond-like stars sparkling and burning. They seemed to be detached from the sky, and to hang free from it, as if they were incandescent lamps suspended from heaven by invisible wires. Below, just above the stalls and cubicles, was a thin layer of blue fog, which came from the fires and braziers of the inmates of the Khân. All the cubicles were full of travellers, and all had lighted fires, and were enjoying the warmth of them, for the nights of February are cold on the plains of Shinar, and even under roofs the "nip" in the air is keen. The

brick benches in the courtyard had few occupants, but beasts were everywhere, and in the dim light of the fires and lamps they seemed to be of enormous size. Men in all kinds of weird dress, with their heads tied up in cloths of all colours, wandered about, and chatted with everybody they met, and the forms of the camels, horses, mules and donkeys, distorted in the dim light, made up a scene never to be forgotten. A medley of sounds filled the air. There were the gurglings and grunts of the camels, which cursed everything and everybody; the whinnies of the horses, the squeaks and kickings of the mules, the brayings of the donkeys (which were very handsome creatures), the clashing of cooking pots, the shouts of the drivers, and as a sort of background to them all there was the confused roar of hundreds of men talking and laughing, and exchanging remarks with friends and acquaintances in other parts of the Khân at the tops of their voices. At rare intervals the shrill tones of women's voices sounded above the din, which ceased entirely when a mullah with a very fine voice ascended the end wall of the Khân, and proclaimed to the night and the desert and to us the Majesty of God. And the smells in the Khân were myriad, like the sounds.

After we had eaten we walked about and looked at our neighbours, and found some of them resting, some making up their accounts, and some displaying their wares to probable customers, and bargaining. One large group of men was listening with great attention to a "story-teller," and judging by the frequent peals of laughter which greeted his words, he must have been making some good points or hits. Elsewhere we saw prayer carpets spread, and their owners standing or kneeling on them praying. When we returned to our own quarters we were visited by the khânjî, and one by one many of our fellow-guests gathered about us, and then they squatted comfortably, and joined in the conversation, and gave their opinions in the free-and-easy way which is so characteristic of the Oriental. Mr. Holland talked Persian or Arabic to all who came, and it was quite clear that the style and substance of his remarks

were approved of by his audience. As his Arabic was good and simple, much like that of the "Thousand Nights and a Night," and as he pronounced his words very clearly, I understood a good deal of what he said, and gained information.

Next morning the brilliant early light showed that the Khân was a very large building. The greater part of its walls were made of ancient bricks of two sizes. The smaller of the bricks were like those of Nebuchadnezzar II, and the larger like the Parthian and Sassanian bricks which I had seen at Ctesiphon, about twenty inches long. The Khân must stand on the site of an ancient town, and all the ground round about it must have been built up, for in no other way could I account for the heaps of rubbish which stood close by, and the many tons of fragments of pottery of all kinds. The



The Mounds of Tall Ibrâhîm.

name "Iskandariyah" must suggest to everyone that the city which stood where the Khân now is was founded by Alexander the Great, probably during his stay at Babylon.

Before we started on our journey I told Mr. Holland that I particularly wished to visit the mound or mounds of Tall Ibrâhîm, which I knew to be near us, and he made the necessary arrangements for our animals to go on by the usual track, whilst we were to turn off in a somewhat easterly direction. We started at dawn, and in a short time we came to the dry bed of the old canal, which was called in ancient days Nahr Kûthâh, or the "River (or Canal) of Kûthâh," and is now known as "Ḥabl Ibrâhîm," or the "Rope of Ibrâhîm," *i.e.*, the Pâshâ who cleared it out. This canal took off from the Euphrates a few miles below the Nahar Malkâ, and emptied itself into the Tigris a few miles below Ctesiphon. The three mounds of Tall Ibrâhîm are the remains of the ancient city of

Kûthâh, from which the King of Assyria brought men to people the cities of Samaria in the place of the Children of Israel (see 2 Kings xvii, 24). According to Muslim tradition Kûthâh was one of the royal cities of Nimrûd, who built a tower close by, and it was here that Abraham is said to have disputed with the king, and charged him with idolatry. In answer Nimrûd cast Abraham into one of his brick ovens at Kûthâh, and the natives to this day say that the bricks which are lying about on the mounds are the remains of the produce of Nimrûd's ovens. Be this as it may, Dungi, an early Babylonian king (B.C. 2500) built, or rebuilt, a temple of the god Nergal at Kutâ (as the name is sometimes spelt in the cuneiform inscriptions). And the city must have been very ancient and of great importance, for its library supplied a version of the Legend of the Creation, which the Assyrian scribes at Nineveh in the seventh century B.C. thought worthy of copying for King Ashur-bani-pal's library. In the tenth century of our era the city of Kûthâh was in a flourishing state,¹ and even in the fourteenth century, according to Abû'l-Fidâ (*Takwîm*, p. 315), it had a bazâr, a mosque, and a pulpit.

The largest of the mounds at Tall Ibrâhîm was about a mile long, and from sixty to seventy feet high, and we were told that in former days it was covered with bricks bearing cuneiform inscriptions. All these, however, had been carried away by the natives and used for building purposes. We found traces of two sets of excavations, namely, those of Mr. H. Rassam, and those of an earlier explorer. Mr. Rassam found there some cuneiform tablets and divining bowls inscribed in Syriac and Mandaitic characters, and after he had "had no less than twenty tunnels and trenches opened in it,"² he abandoned the site, and did not set watchmen to protect the parts of it which he had excavated. To open trenches and drive tunnels at haphazard is mere gambling on the part of the excavator, and it leaves the work to be done all over

¹ See G. le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 68.

² See *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, viii, p. 184.

again. On the west side of the canal we found a well, which was very deep, and probably dated from the time when Kûthâh was a flourishing city.

We had intended to ride direct from Tall Ibrâhîm to Maḥawîl, or Maḥawwal, but the floods were out, and we had to return to the usual track, which was grandiloquently called "Darb as-Sultâni," or the "King's Highway." As we were going to the south we saw a very fine specimen of the mirage. About a mile off, so it seemed, we saw a large river with rafts and ḳuffahs floating on it, and behind it endless rows of palms and other trees, and behind these ḳubbahs (domes) and minarets of mosques. The men with the animals said they recognized the buildings, and that the town projected in the air was Musayyib. As we had spent much time at Tall Ibrâhîm, we found that we should not be able to reach Hîllah that night, and we therefore determined to ride to some place as near to the Euphrates as possible, and to pass the night there. We left Muḥawwal at three o'clock, and rode on to Tall al-Karênah, a mound about forty feet high, where we were told that some natives had made excavations recently,¹ and had found both tablets and money (ancient coins?). A few natives were digging when we came to the mound. We made no attempt to examine the mound of Bâbil, which we passed on the right, and pressed on to Jumjumah, which was difficult to approach. The ground round the village was full of shallow pits and deep holes, which had been made by diggers seeking for tablets, and as night had fallen we could only move slowly. Presently the dogs became aware of us, and they made such a noise that the natives of the village came out prepared to attack thieves, and seemed rather disappointed when they saw our humble little caravan. They made it quite clear that they did not want us in their village, but they sent a man with a lantern to guide us to a hut which was often used as a rest-house by better-class pilgrims. In due course we reached the hut, which stood in a garden that ran down to the Euphrates. As soon as we had

¹ See *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, viii, p. 184.

eaten we were visited by the headmen of the village, who seemed to be fully aware for what purpose we had come, and who were quite anxious to begin selling us tablets then and there.

When these had departed, and we thought we were safe from further interruption, there suddenly appeared a number of men with lanterns, and they brought to us various sick folk, some crippled with rheumatism, and some blind. The rumour had gone out that three Franjīs, or Europeans, had arrived, and as all Europeans are believed to be doctors, the people who lived nearest to our hut brought their sick to us at once. None of us had made preparations for such an emergency, and the only medicines I had in my case were quinine, febrifuge, and the ordinary hospital pills. When these were exhausted, Mr. Holland gave them cards to Dr. Bowman, physician to the Residency in Baghdād, whose kindness to sick and suffering natives was proverbial from Sinjār to the Persian Gulf.

Soon after dawn the following morning we set out for Hillah.¹ Our road lay through large and luxuriant gardens, filled with date palms, apricot and almond trees, fir trees, etc., and the brilliant light of the early morning made long lanes of splendour among the palm groves, and plated the leaves of the trees with gold and silver. After passing through the gardens we came to a small and very dilapidated village, and soon after arrived at the eastern end of the bridge of boats, which carried traffic of all kinds into Hillah. The boats were daubed with bitumen inside and out, and the road over them was made of palm trunks, slit perpendicularly, and laid in a mixture of clay and bitumen. The modern town of Hillah lies on the west bank of the Euphrates, and is

¹ On Hillah see Yākūt, ii, p. 322; Abū l-Fidā, p. 298; Ibn Jubair, p. 214; Ibn Baṭūṭah, ii, p. 97; Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, tomo i, p. 385; F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena, *Il Viaggio*, Venice, 1683, p. 496; Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, ii, p. 257; C. J. Rich, *Narrative*, p. 49; Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii, p. 335; Buckingham, *Travels*, ii, p. 353 ff.; Wellsted, *Travels*, i, p. 219; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 484-508; G. le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 71 f.

To face p. 253, vol. I.



The Mosque of Hasan and Husen at Karbala.

about five miles from Bâbil, and fifty from Baghdâd, provided that the most direct road be followed. The parent town of Hillah, i.e., "the Hamlet," stood on the east bank, and was called "Al-Jâmi'ân," and it was well inhabited and flourishing. Hillah, on the west bank, was a mere village until A.H. 495 = A.D. 1101-2, when Sêf ad-Dawlah, the Chief of the Banî Mazyad, enlarged it, and made it into a flourishing town, and joined the two banks of the river by a bridge of boats. The old pilgrim road from Baghdâd to Kûfah passed through Kaşr Ibn-Hubêrah, and over the bridge which spanned the Sûrâ Canal, but when Hillah was enlarged, and its bridge of boats built, pilgrims abandoned the old road, and travelled to Kûfah viâ Hillah. Hillah grew and prospered, and for some centuries it was a most thriving place. The bulk of the population has always been Shi'ite, and at one time there was a Shi'ite sanctuary in the town. It was commonly believed by them that Al-Kâim, the promised Mahdî, who had disappeared into the underground chamber of a mosque at Sâmarrâ A.H. 264 = A.D. 878, would re-appear at Hillah and convert the world. The walls of the town, and the towers of its three gates, through which run the roads to Najf, Tahmasîyah¹ and Karbalâ respectively, are built of bricks brought from the ruins of Babylon. The general view of the town was pleasing. The bazârs were large and spacious, but rather dark and very dirty. The most interesting building in Hillah is the Masjid ash-Shems, or the "Sun-Mosque,"² and this name is given to it because of the miracle which was wrought in it on behalf of "'Ali the Martyr." 'Ali, it seems, overslept himself one morning, and would have failed to say the morning prayer, had it not been that the sun, knowing that 'Ali was still sleeping, delayed his rising until he woke up. The sun then rose, and 'Ali said his prayer. In another building,

¹ A village on the road to Birs-i-Nimrûd; it was built by Shâh Tahmas. See Rich, *Narrative*, p. 31.

² A drawing of it is given by Oppert on one of the plates to his *Expédition*.

which is a sort of mosque, and has a tower, or minaret, is seen the Tomb of Joshua, the son of Nûn. The part of the building containing this tomb has an elongated, conical roof, made and decorated in the style of that which is on the so-called Tomb of Zubêdah, in Western Baghdâd. The Jews in Hillah told me that this tomb was a "Muslim fraud."

As we rode into the town it was easy to see that in many parts of the bazârs, at least, our arrival was not regarded with favour, for many of the shop-keepers first scowled at us, and then spat to relieve the feelings which the sight of us called up in them. As we had no escort of soldiers the bulk of the people looked at us contemptuously as we passed, and took no further notice of us, whereat we were much pleased. Nowhere in that neighbourhood is the European welcome. When we had gone some distance into the town Mr. Holland found a certain Jew, who was a man of substance and possessed a good-sized house, and he agreed to let us lodge with him as long as we were in Hillah. He also seemed to know for what purpose we had come, and who we were, and before we had finished our breakfast he sent to various friends in the town, telling them to bring the antiquities which they had for us to see. The Jews of Hillah are undoubtedly the descendants of those who migrated thither from that part of Babylon which was inhabited till the tenth century of our era, and for many generations past they have occupied themselves with the trade in antiquities.¹

In the forenoon, as soon as possible, we set out to visit the famous ruins of Birs-i-Nimrûd, and the mound of Ibrâhîm al-Khalîl, where excavations had been carried

¹ "The Arabs employ themselves in digging amidst the ruins, and their labours are rewarded by finding intaglios, cylinders, amulets, etc. At the period of my visit a Jew employed a party of twenty labourers, and a considerable trade in such antiquities is carried on at Bagdad, Busrah and Aleppo. The hollows which they burrow, some thirty feet deep, add to the ruggedness of the common features of the hill."—Wellsted, *Travels*, i, p. 224.



The Tomb of 'Ayishah Khānum, wife of Hāsān Pāshā, who died A.D. 1131 (A.D. 1718). It is commonly called the Tomb of Zübēdah, the wife of Hārūn ar-Rashīd.



out for the British Museum by Rawlinson and Tonietti,¹ and Mr. H. Rassam.² These ruins lie about five miles south-south-west of Hillah, and stand upon rising ground, which is above the level of the ordinary floods. When the neighbouring country is covered with water, even to the depth of a few inches, access to them is very difficult, as we found when we went there. We crossed innumerable small canals, and followed a very devious course in order to avoid the flooded fields that lay between Hillah and the Birs. Seen from a distance of four or five miles, the Birs appears to be a sort of block-house, or low tower, perched upon a mound of irregular shape about three times the height of the actual ruins. As we drew closer to the Birs I saw that the ruin was not the remains either of a block-house or low tower, and that it



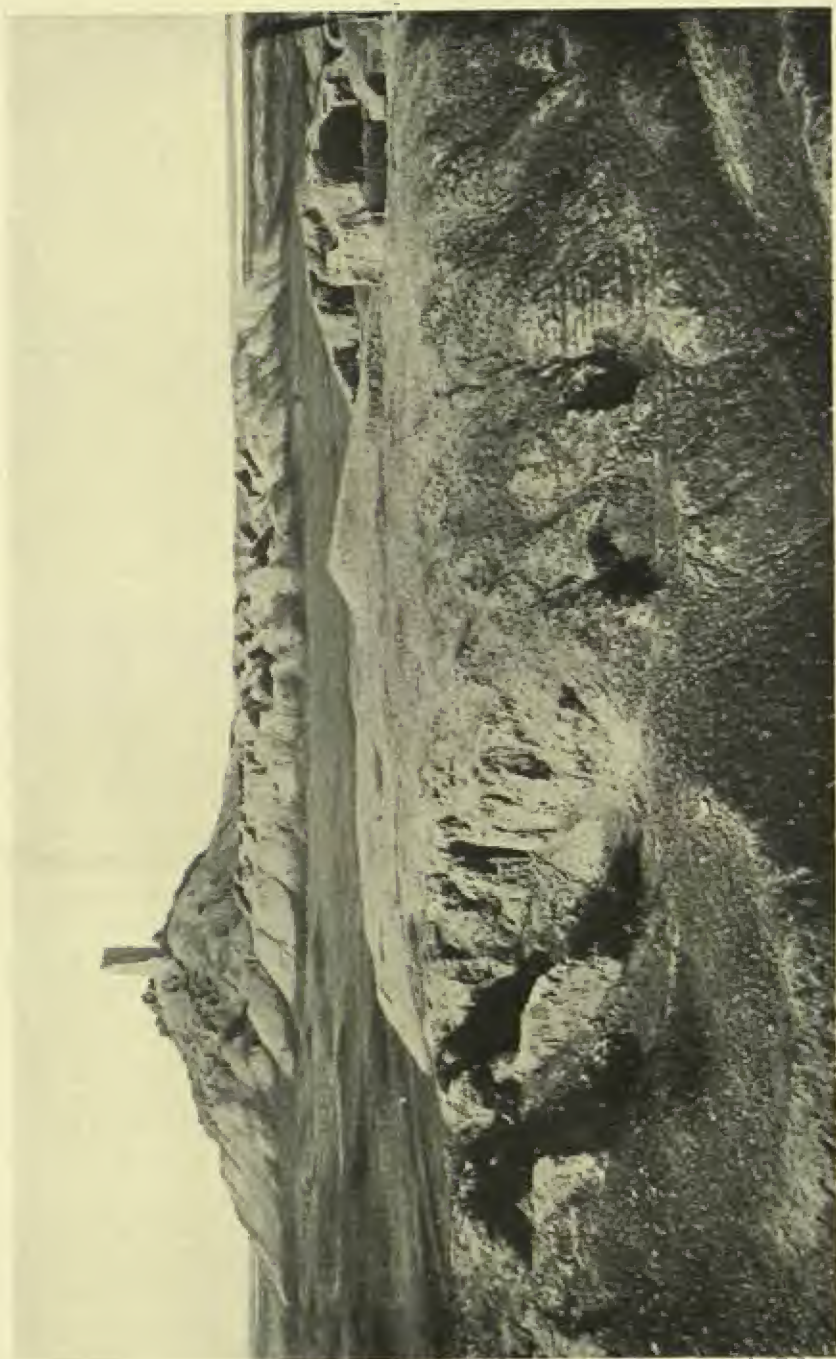
The Ruins of Birs-i-Nimrūd.

consisted of portions of two of the side walls of a straight-sided building, which met at a right angle, and joined to form one of its corners. When we came to the foot of the mound I was greatly disappointed to see that the Birs was a mere fragment of brickwork about 35 feet

¹ In September and October, 1854. See *Journal Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, vol. xviii, p. 1.

² He says: "At Birs Nimroud I was fortunate enough to discover the palace where Nabonidus was supposed to have been residing when Cyrus captured Babylon. It is on the mound upon which the supposed Temple of Belus is built. It contained eighty chambers and halls, only four of which produced some remains of Babylonian antiquity, proving that the building was erected by Nebuchadnezzar." At Birs-i-Nimrūd were found the bronze doorstep of Nebuchadnezzar II and a log of cedar wood, which was probably the pivot of a door, or a door post. These are now in the British Museum. Mr. Rassam drove a tunnel towards the foundation of the tower a distance of eighty feet.—*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, viii, pp. 188-190.

high. The mound on which it stood was an irregular oblong in shape; its circuit was certainly less than half a mile, and I guessed that its height was about 100 feet. Its sides were furrowed by rainstorms in many places, and every here and there were holes and pits and shallow ravines, which marked the places where Europeans had excavated, and where natives had dug for bricks. The western side was comparatively steep, and rose somewhat abruptly from the plain, and I concluded that this portion of the mound was the fore part of a platform for a ziggurat, or Babylonian temple tower. The masses of fragments of thin burnt brick which I saw on the plain at the foot of the western side suggested that part of the mound had been faced with bricks. Higher up the mound, and all round the lower part of the brickwork ruin, there were scattered about hundreds of tons of the débris of a building, and among it were large fragments of burnt bricks of various dimensions. On the north side were several very large masses of brickwork, which had originally formed part of the ancient building on the mound. When we came up to the mass of brickwork which stands on the mound, we saw that beyond doubt it was the corner of a rectangular building, and that it was formed by parts of its east and south walls. The eastern part was about 35 feet high, and the southern about 20 feet, and there was a great rent or tear in the brickwork about 17 feet deep; the brickwork was perforated in many places, and light and air could pass through its mass. The bricks used in the construction of the portion of the Birs which I could examine closely were baked, and were close-grained, and very hard, and rather light in colour. They were laid in a sort of white cement (which my knife failed to scratch, so hard was it), and were about 12 inches square and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. Passing to the south and south-western parts of the mound immediately below the Birs, we saw some huge masses of brickwork scattered about in all directions. These were formed of bricks of similar size and shape and texture as those just mentioned, and were also set in white cement, or perhaps lime mixed with some other substance. But



Remains of the ziggurat of the Temple of Nebo of Borsippa, commonly but erroneously called the "Tower of Babel."

the extraordinary thing about these masses was that they were vitrified, and looked far more like masses of partially melted glass than brickwork. Variations in their colour showed that the heat which had produced the vitrification was not of equal intensity in all their parts, but everywhere their surfaces were covered with vitreous glaze as hard as flint. In some cases the white cement and the bricks seemed to have been melted together by the intense heat to which they had been subjected.

I was familiar with the general results which Rawlinson obtained when he carried on excavations at the Birs with Mr. Toniatti in 1854, and I naturally looked at all parts of the mound very carefully to see if I could see any traces of the various stages of the great Tower of Borsippa, which he described so minutely. But I failed to do so. I could not even find the mass of red brickwork which Ker Porter mentions,¹ nor the large bricks, nearly five inches thick, set in layers of mortar more than an inch in depth; nor the core of the building, which, he says, was formed of sun-dried bricks. Moreover, I could not see anywhere on the mound fragments of the coloured bricks with which, according to Rawlinson, the faces of the various stages of the Tower of Borsippa were covered. Through enquiries which I made of natives on the spot, I learned that when Mr. Rassam finished his work at Birs, and on the neighbouring mound of Ibrâhîm al-Khalîl, the natives flocked there in very considerable numbers, and, with the connivance of the authorities in Hillah, they ransacked the ruins, and carried off many thousands of bricks, which were promptly used to repair the barrage on the Hindiyah Canal; and we may be sure that when Rawlinson abandoned the site in 1854 it was carefully worked by the diggers for bricks from that time until the advent of Mr. Rassam. I was firmly convinced when I examined the ruins at Birs that the mass of brickwork on the mound was the remains of one of the stages of the ziggurat, or temple-tower of Borsippa, one of the oldest shrines of Babylonia, and I felt sure

¹ *Travels*, ii, p. 313.

that I could identify that portion of the mound which formed its platform. I believed then, when proof was not forthcoming, as I believe now, when it is, that the ziggurat of Borsippa was built in stages, like the ziggurat of Bâbil, or the Tower of Babel. Rich, Ker Porter, Buckingham and Rawlinson all saw remains of these stages, and the last named also found remains of the coloured bricks which distinguished the different stages, and discovered data from which he was able to give the dimensions of the stages. But neither I nor a later traveller, Dr. Koldewey, was able to find traces of either stages or coloured bricks, and we could find no remains, except the mass of brickwork on the top of the mound, which seemed to support the statements of the early travellers. Because of this, Dr. Koldewey boldly asserts that both stages and coloured bricks are an "Einbildung,"¹ or "imagination" or "fancy." But I submit that the statements made by the early travellers about such things were correct substantially, and that the brickwork of the stages, and the coloured bricks or tiles that faced them, are not now to be found at Birs because they were carried away piecemeal by the brick merchants of Hillah between 1854 and 1888.

Tradition, both ancient and modern, asserts that the ruins on the mound of Birs-i-Nimrûd are the remains of a tower that was built by Nimrûd, the famous king, who (Muslim tradition asserts) was a contemporary of the patriarch Abraham. According to Arab historians, he was either the son of Canaan, or of Mâsh, the grandson of Shem, and he built the Citadel of Bâbil and the Bridge of Bâbil, and is supposed to have reigned five hundred years. When it thundered and lightened he used to go out of his palace and shoot arrows up into the air, so that he might kill the god who made the storm. On one occasion some of his arrows which fell to the ground were found with moisture like blood upon them, and he declared that he had fought against God successfully, and wounded Him. In the reign of Nimrûd the worship of the stars

¹ *Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 57 ff.

and of fire appeared upon the earth. The astrologers found out by the horoscope of the year in which Abraham was born that he would overthrow their cult, and when they warned Nimrūd of this, he ordered all the newly-born children to be killed, but Abraham was hidden in a cave and escaped. When Abraham grew up the Archangel Gabriel taught him the true religion, and God gave him special protection, so that he could not sin. In due course Abraham began to dispute with Nimrūd about his religion, and reviled his gods. Nimrūd then cast Abraham into a fiery oven (red-hot brick-kiln?), but God kept him safe in the fire, and the Jews assert that Gabriel delivered him. Nimrūd then shut Abraham up in his palace, but the patriarch escaped by some miraculous means, and Nimrūd was so filled with awe at his escape that he slew 4,000 cattle in honour of his God. Nimrūd is said to have built the tower at Birs so that he might ascend and see the God of Abraham. When he found that he could not see God by these means, he tried to go up into heaven in a chest borne by four large birds;¹ but the strength of the birds failed, and the chest fell upon the earth with such force that it produced an earthquake. Then came a battle between the followers of Abraham and those of Nimrūd, and God confounded the speech and minds of the idolaters, and destroyed the tower by fire; and after enduring agony in his head for four hundred years, through a gnat which had entered by his nose or ear, the proud and mighty king died a miserable death, caused by one of the smallest of God's creatures.²

¹ Here we have a reminiscence of the journey which Etana, an ancient Babylonian hero, attempted to make to heaven. He was carried up to the heaven of Anu in three flights, each lasting two hours. Then he tried to mount to the heaven of Ishtar, but the eagle stopped in its flight and fell to the ground. See Harper, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii, p. 391 ff.; and Jastrow, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 363 ff. Alexander the Great also tried to reach heaven in a similar manner; see my *Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge, 1896, translation, p. 278.

² See Ibn al-Athîr (ed. Tornberg), vol. i, pp. 67-85; Mas'ûdî, vol. i, p. 98 ff.; Kur'ân, v, 20; xxi, 52, 68, 99; Maimonides, *Môreh Nêbhûchim*, iii, 29; Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, p. 434.

The first English traveller to describe the Birs was C. J. Rich, who visited the ruin in 1811.¹ According to him the circumference of the mound is 2,286 feet; height of brick wall on mound, 37 feet; width of brick wall on mound, 28 feet; total height of mound and wall, 235 feet. He notes in his description that on the summit of the mound there are "huge fragments of brickwork, tumbled confusedly together, and, what is most extraordinary, they are partly converted into a solid vitrified mass." But he does not attribute this vitrification to fire which God in His wrath sent from heaven.² The measurements given by Ker Porter are:³ Circumference of the mound, 3,082 [? 2,082] feet; height of brick wall on mound, 35 feet; height of mound, 200 feet. Like Rich, this traveller believed that the Birs represented the remains of the famous Tower of Bâbil, or Temple of Belus. He says that the wall is "rent from the top to nearly half-way to the bottom, unquestionably by some great convulsion of nature, or some even more extraordinary efforts of man." He thought that the vitrification of the brickwork was due to "lightning from heaven," and was inclined to think, with Bochart and Faber, that either "fire fell from heaven on the centre of the tower, and split it to the very foundation," or "fiery globes, similar to those which checked the mad enterprise of Julian at Jerusalem, might have burst from the pile itself, and overthrown the builders."

Buckingham thought the height of the mound was

¹ *Journey to Babylon*, p. 32 ff.

² Many, in my opinion, absurd theories and extraordinary hypotheses have been advanced in respect of the vitrified masses of brickwork at the Birs. Had the tower been destroyed by fire specially sent from heaven the whole of the ruin on the mound of Birs would have been vitrified, but it is not, and only here and there on it did I see marks of vitrification. I believe with Rawlinson (*Jnl. R. A. S.*, vol. xviii, p. 6) that the vitrification was the work of the builder of the tower, who intended to transmute the whole of one of the stages into a solid mass of clinker brick by means of huge fires heaped up upon it and about it, probably for weeks or months.

³ *Travels*, ii, p. 310.

200 feet, and that of the wall 50 feet, and the vitrification of the brickwork he attributed to human means.¹ Wellsted thought the mound might be 2,000 feet in circumference, but he estimated its height at 180 feet, and the height of the wall on top at 40 feet. The rent in the wall he attributed to a convulsion of nature, and the destruction of the building to fire.² Rawlinson examined the ruins in 1854, and with the help of Mr. J. Toniatti made a series of excavations in the mound, and the conclusions which he arrived at are these:³ (1) The corners of the Birs, and not the four sides, face the cardinal points; (2) the vitrification is artificial; (3) the mound and the wall together are 156 feet high, the height of the wall being 37 feet; (4) the rhomboidal holes which transect the entire mass of brickwork were intended either for ventilation or drainage; (5) the mound has been perforated in hundreds of places by seekers after treasure; (6) the building was a tower in seven stages, each stage coloured with the colour sacred to the planet to whom the stage was dedicated; (7) on the topmost stage was the shrine of the great god to whom the whole building was dedicated; (8) the Birs was either restored or built by Nebuchadnezzar II, because two complete cylinders of this king had been found during the course of his excavations; (9) it is impossible to give measurements of the crude brick platform on which the tower stood; (10) the measurements of the various stages and their colours must have been as follows:

Stage.	Height.	Square.	Colour.	Planet.
1	26 feet.	272 feet.	Black.	Saturn.
2	26 feet.	230 feet.	Red-brown.	Jupiter.
3	26 feet.	188 feet.	Red.	Mars.
4	26 feet.	146 feet.	Gold.	Sun.
5	15 feet.	104 feet.	Yellow.	Venus.
6	15 feet.	62 feet.	Blue.	Mercury.
7	15 feet.	20 feet.	[Silver?]	[Moon].

¹ *Travels*, i, 372.

² *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, i, p. 223 f.

³ *Jnl. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xviii, p. 1 ff.

As soon as Rawlinson delivered his lecture on the Birs, and gave the total height of the mound and wall on top of it as 156 feet, his measurement was challenged by some authorities who quoted the measurements of Rich (235 feet), Ker Porter (235 feet), Buckingham (250 feet), and Wellsted (220 feet), and said that he must have made a serious mistake. Rawlinson asked Felix Jones, who was then surveying Babylon, to ascertain the height of the Birs, and after working upon a "very carefully measured and levelled base," and employing "a full-sized surveying theodolite, reversing the telescope at each observation to insure perfect accuracy of the angles," he determined, both by protraction and calculation, that "the vertical distance from the water-level of the plain to the highest point of the ruin, at the summit of the mound of Birs," was $153\frac{1}{2}$ English feet.¹ The next traveller to examine the Birs was Oppert, who, on the whole, accepted Rawlinson's conclusions, but when he compiled his map of Babylon,² he made the great mistake of including the Birs in the area of the city of Babylon. It is not altogether clear what view Rawlinson and Oppert held about the Birs, but it seems as if both of them were inclined to regard the ruin as the remains of the Tower of Babel, or Tower of Belus, or Tomb of Belus. After Rawlinson had finished his excavations at the Birs he determined to print an account of them under five heads: (1) Personal Narrative. (2) Account of Excavations. (3) Restoration of the design of the Temple. (4) Translation of the Cylinder Inscription. (5) Memoir on Borsippa. From the fact that he intended to write a Memoir on Borsippa we may assume that he believed the Birs to form a part of Borsippa, but whether he thought, like Oppert, that Borsippa was a part of Babylon cannot be said, for he never published the fifth part of his monograph on Birs-i-Nimrûd.³

¹ *Jnl. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xviii, p. 14 (note).

² See *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, Paris, 1863, 2 vols., with atlas and plates separate.

³ Parts i-iv were published in *Jnl. R. A. S.*, vol. xviii, p. 1 ff. In his "Note" on p. 33 he says: "The 5th section I found to grow in my hands; from a few pages it expanded almost to the dimensions

The cuneiform inscriptions prove (1) That the ruins at Birs are the remains of the great temple of the god Nâbu (Nebo) of Bar-zi-pa¹ (*ki*) 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶, or Borsippa,² which in Ashur-bani-pal's time (B.C. 668-626) was called the "Second Babylon," (*alu*) Bab-ilu II, (*ki*) 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶;³ (2) that the ziggurat, or temple tower, which stood there was not the Tower of Babel. The temple of Nebo was called "E-Zida" 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶,⁴ and the name of its great ziggurat, or temple tower, was "E-ur-imin-an-ki," 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶.⁵ Borsippa was a suburb

of Babylon, and lay on the west bank of the Euphrates whilst the fortress of Babylon and its great ziggurat of Bêl, commonly known as the "Tower of Babel," and all the chief palaces and temples of Babylon stood on the east bank of the Euphrates. The distance from Borsippa to Babylon has been variously estimated by travellers, but in a direct line it cannot be less than eight miles, and it may be ten or more; therefore the ziggurat of Nâbu of Borsippa ought never to have been confused with the ziggurat of Bêl of Babylon. As long as both ziggurats were standing, it was as unlikely that anyone who possessed

of a volume, and the notes, embracing a great variety of subjects, were but half completed when in March, 1855, I left Baghdad and returned to England. Before my arrival, the opening portions of the Memoir had been printed, but I delayed their publication in hopes of being able to finish the last section. . . . This . . . I have been unable to accomplish up to the present moment—I cannot even say when I may command the necessary leisure—and I am constrained accordingly to permit the paper to appear now in the Society's Journal without the historical and geographical explanations which I consider form its most valuable portion."

¹ According to Delitzsch (*Wo lag*, p. 216) this is a Semitized form of the oldest non-Semitic name of Borsippa 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 (*alu*) BAD + SI + ABBA (*ki*) three words which mean "fortress," "horn" (or "turret"), and "house" (or "temple") respectively. See Rawlinson, *Cun. Inscr.*, iv, pl. 20, No. 3, l. 10.








² *I.e.*, Βόρσπυρρα or Βόρσπυρρος. Rich states that in his day the natives called the Birs "Bourra." (*Memoir on Babylon*, p. 73.)

³ Rawlinson, *C. I.*, iii, pl. 4, No. 4, ll. 13 and 14.

⁴ Rawlinson, *C. I.*, i, pl. 55, col. 4, l. 51.

⁵ Rawlinson, *C. I.*, i, pl. 54, col. 3, l. 67.

any knowledge of Babylon would confound the two ziggurats, as it was that he would confound the two gods to whom they were dedicated. The Babylonian kings coupled together the names of E-Sagila, the temple of Bêl, and E-Zida, the temple of Nâbu, just as Isaiah the Prophet coupled together the names of their gods in his words, "Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth" (xlvi, 1), and it is possible that the great god of the city was supposed to be content to share his glory equally with the great god of the ancient suburb of Borsippa.

The great temple of Bêl in Babylon was called "E-Sagila"    ,¹ and the great ziggurat which stood close by it "E-temen-an-ki"   .² As this ziggurat stood in Babel, or Bâbil, it was rightly called the "Tower of Babel." Neither the date of its foundation nor the date of its destruction is known, but it is certain from the statement of Arrian³ that when Alexander the Great arrived in Babylon it was in ruins. He intended to rebuild it, and in fact had all the débris removed and its site completely cleared, but he died before he could begin the work. Therefore no traveller to Babylon after the death of Alexander can possibly have seen the Tower of Babel. Those who actually reached the ruins of Babylon—e.g., Benjamin of Tudela⁴ (twelfth century) and Friar Beatus Odoricus (fourteenth century)—saw that strikingly prominent piece of wall on the Birs-i-Nimrûd and called it "the tower which the generation that was dispersed built,"⁵ and the "Tower of Babel,"⁶ respectively. And the ruin at the Birs is not the only one which has been taken for the Tower of Babel. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Baghdâd was often called "Babylon" and "New Babylon" by travellers,

¹ Rawlinson, *C. I.*, i, pl. 53, col. 1, l. 13. See Tiele, *Bemerkungen in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ii, p. 179 ff.

² Rawlinson, *C. I.*, i, pl. 54, col. 3, l. 15.

³ *Anabasis*, vii, 17.

⁴ Ed. Asher, Berlin, 1840, p. 106.

⁵ למגדל שבונו דור המדונה.

⁶ "Inde ivi in Chaldaeam quae est regnum magnum, et transivi juxta turrin Babel" (Hakluyt, *Collection*, vol. ii, p. 143).

and many English travellers who saw the mass of brickwork of 'Aḳar Kûf, on the west bank of the Tigris, about ten miles south-west of Baghdād, declared in their writings that they had seen and visited the Tower of Babel.

The wholly exaggerated importance which has been given to the ruin at the Birs is due in the first instance to the Rabbi Benjamin, of Tudela, who describes it thus: "Four miles from thence [Hillah] is the tower that was built by the dispersed generation. It is built of bricks which are called Al-Aggûr (אַגּוּר).¹ The length of its base is about 2 miles, and its breadth 240 cubits, and its height is about 100 kânîm.² And at every ten cubits there are paths, and by means of a circular stairway (?) men ascend, and they wind their way round up to the top, whence they are able to see for a distance of twenty miles, for the region is everywhere flat and level. Fire from heaven fell into the midst of it, and cleft it to its bottom." Thus there is no doubt that Rabbi Benjamin identified the ruin of the Birs with the Tower of Babel, which was destroyed when the speech of mankind was confounded, and that he believed the rent in the brickwork of the tower to have been caused by fire from heaven.³ In one particular his testimony is of very great value, for he mentions the circular staircase (עִנּוּר) by which the tower was ascended, and as he speaks of intervals of ten cubits, it is probable that he is referring to some of the upper stages of the tower which may have been visible in his time. There is no mention of any such stairway in Rawlinson's monograph, but this is not to be wondered at, for the seekers after bricks had, no doubt, carried it away piecemeal.

The last excavator of the Birs was Dr. Koldewey, who found the height of the mound and the wall on it together to be forty-seven metres above the plain. He thus

¹ This is the Arabic *ajurrah* (أَجْرَاهُ), a word which is applied to bricks that have been baked as hard as stones, and is derived from the Assyrian 𐎶 𐎵 𐎶𐎵 a-gur-ru.

² Literally "reeds." The length of the "reed" is unknown to me.

³ Ed. Asher, Heb. text, p. 65.

arrived at a result which is practically the same as Felix Jones's. He is of opinion that at the present time there are no traces to be found at the Birs, either of the stages or of the coloured bricks or tiles which formed them; and he regards the statements of travellers who declare that they have seen remains of stages and traces of colour as the offspring of the imagination. As already said, Dr. Koldewey does not believe that the Tower of Babel was built in stages, according to the statement of Herodotus (i, 181), and, if I understand him rightly, he doubts the existence of the alleged stages at Borsippa. There is, however, good reason for thinking that the ziggurat of E-Zida at Borsippa *was* built in stages. The principal evidence for this view is derived from a boundary stone belonging to the reign of Merodach-Baladan I (B.C. 1150), now preserved in the British Museum.¹ On this monument are sculptured a representation of some of its stages, and a figure of the emblem of the god Nâbu: and what is true for the ziggurat of Borsippa is probably true for the ziggurat of Babylon.

The cuneiform inscriptions make it quite certain that the ruins at Birs-i-Nimrûd mark the site of the suburb of Babylon called "Barzipa" in the texts, and there is no doubt that Barzipa and the Βόρσιππα² of classical writers are one and the same place. The compilers of the Talmûd Bâbhli knew the town under the names of Bûrsî (בורסי) and Bûrsîp (בורסיפ), and Neubauer says that "Borsip est confondu dans les actes officiels avec Babel."³ We may be pretty certain that the site of Barzipa and the town called Bûrsî, or Bûrsîp, by the Jews, are one and the same place, because the Talmûd mentions an idol of Bêth Nebo in Bûrsîp,⁴ and Bêth Nebo is clearly the E-Zida of Barzipa. Bûrsî, i.e.,

¹ No. 90850. See L. W. King, *Boundary Stones*, pl. 25, note 1, and pl. 41; and his *History of Babylon*, London, 1915, pp. 78, 79.

² Βόρσιππα of Ptolemy (v. 20, 6; viii, 20, 28) is probably a mistake for Βόρσιπα.

³ *Géographie du Talmud*, Paris, 1868, pp. 327 and 346.

⁴ Neubauer, *op. cit.*, p. 346, note 8.

Barzipa, seems to have passed into the works of Arab geographers under the forms "Birs"¹ بَرس, "Al-Birs"² البَرس, and "Al-Bûrs"³ بَرس. They say that the Birs is in the district of Al-Kûfah, and it is mentioned frequently in connection with Bâbil; and in the early centuries of the Hijrah it was a place of much importance, and a great trade centre. That this is tolerably certain may be gathered from Yâkût, who says, "Burs is a place in the land of Bâbil. In it are ruins of Nebuchadnezzar, بخت نصر, and a very high hill. It is called the 'Tower of Burs.'"⁴ The cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar II, which Rawlinson and Tonietti found at Barzipa, prove that this king carried out great works there, and thus Yâkût reports a historical fact. The natives give the "an i" sound in Burs, and I and many others have heard them call the ruin "Al-Birs," or "Birs" simply.

¹ Ibn al-Athîr, ii, p. 355; Bilâdhuri, pp. 255, 274.

² Ibn Khurdâdhbah, p. 238.

³ Ibn al-Athîr, ii, p. 393; Mas'ûdi, vi, p. 59.

⁴ Vol. i, p. 565.

RETURN TO HILLAH. NATIVE VIEWS ON EXCAVATIONS AND ON THE TRADE IN ANTICAS.

WHEN we returned to Hillah we went to our lodging in the house of the Jew with whom we made an arrangement in the morning. After a short time natives dropped in one by one, and seated themselves around the room by the wall, and each produced antiquities from some part of his dress. Late in the evening, when the other dealers had departed, our host brought out a number of most interesting objects, some of which he had acquired quite recently. I bought several of them at very reasonable prices, among them being a basalt weight for two-thirds of a mana and one shekel. On this valuable object is a trilingual inscription in Persian, Susian, and Median cuneiform, recording its weight and the name of Darius Hystaspes (B.C. 520-485). It is now in the British Museum.¹ Our host and his friends had many of the tablets of the last Babylonian Empire, which had come from Ibrâhîm al-Khalîl and Jumjumah, sites of the Trustees' excavations, and I bought several large selections from them. When the purchases were concluded we sat and talked far into the night about excavations at Babylon, and at places in the neighbourhood, and I found that he was as anxious to question me as I was to question him. He was wishful to learn something more than he found in his Scriptures about the ancient history of the country, but though books on the subject were plentiful there were none written in any language which he could read; and I found that he was ignorant of the existence of the great histories written by Bilâdhurî, Ibn al-Athîr, Mas'ûdî, and others. When I asked him about the excavations which the natives made at Babylon his answer was to this effect:—

Native merchants in Hillah and elsewhere, and

¹ No. 91,117. I published copies of the texts in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. x, p. 464 f. Its weight is 2,573 grains.

building contractors generally, obtained on payment permission from the local authorities to dig out and carry away from the ruins bricks and "sibâkh" سِبَاكْ, i.e., the salty débris, which was used as manure or top-dressing for the fields. The workmen who were employed to do the actual digging preferred to dig in the trenches and tunnels that had been made by Europeans in the course of their excavations, because the work was easier, and because they found tablets, stone cylinders, gems, etc., which had been washed into them by the rain. From time immemorial, he went on to say, the people had dug out bricks for building purposes from the ruins of Bâbil and Birs, and his grandfather and great-grandfather had always bought and sold the antiquities which the diggers brought to them. Moreover, a considerable number of owners of boats made their livings by carrying bricks to villages up and down the river. When a large mass of brickwork or a wall was located in the ruins, the natives formed a company, dug up the place, broke up the brickwork, and divided the bricks according to arrangement; and there had never been any difficulty about the matter, provided a suitable *bakhshish* was given to the authorities. The Mîrî (i.e., Government) always took bricks from the ruins when they required them, and he mentioned as a proof of this the Şadd, or great barrier wall of the Hindiyyah Canal, which had been built entirely of bricks of Nebuchadnezzar II from Bâbil. As for watchmen to protect sites excavated by foreigners, of what use were they? How could they be of any use? The sites did not belong to foreigners, they were only permitted to dig in them for a definite period, and they had no right to appoint watchmen on the Sultân's property; and watchmen were powerless to prevent other people digging. Only the Government could reserve sites and protect them, whether they were being worked or not. In cases where they had done this they had employed soldiers to protect the sites.

If the people were prevented from digging for bricks at Bâbil and Birs, where else could they obtain bricks to

build and repair their houses? It was quite impossible to withdraw from them a privilege which they had enjoyed for several centuries. The mosques in Hilla and Kûfah, and the shrines of Masjid Husên and Masjid 'Ali, and the Jewish synagogues, and the houses of every Jew, Shi'ah and Sunnî of the better class, were built of bricks taken from Bâbil. After the excavations made there by the British about 1880 many large slabs of limestone and some limestone statues had been found, and they had all been broken up and made into lime for mortar. It was a terrible misfortune that they had no means of carrying away the large blocks of stone which still remained in the ruins.

Questioned further our host said that he did not do much dealing in bricks, because digging was more expensive than formerly. The supply of bricks from near the surface of the mounds had been exhausted, and the deeper the shafts that had to be sunk, the more costly the bricks; and in these days so many bricks were broken in getting out that they fetched very little money. He explained his statement by saying that the diggers in many cases found it impossible to break up masses of wall because the bitumen, which served as mortar, held the bricks so tightly together that it was very difficult to get out whole bricks. They wanted better tools, but none were to be bought, and no one in Hilla knew how to make them. He had heard that the "Franjis" had some kind of *barûd* (gunpowder) which they used in breaking up walls, and some of his friends had seen the great French engineer¹ use it when he was collecting bricks with which to repair the Şadd. Would we not help him to get some of it?² He was willing to pay for it "like a prince!"

Coming then to his own affairs, he said that he was

¹ *I.e.*, Monsieur Moujel, brother of the famous French engineer who built the Barrage north of Cairo.

² Later I heard in Baghdâd that the engineers had destroyed a large wall at Bâbil; the layers of bricks were held so tightly in their places by reeds and bitumen that they had to be blasted out with small charges of dynamite.

willing to do much business with us, but he admitted that he knew nothing about antiquities, and he asked me what kinds of things we wanted, and how he was to know that the things offered to him were genuine. I explained to him as well as my defective Arabic permitted the obvious differences between the tablets of the earliest and latest Babylonian empires, and described the objects, cylinders, seals, etc., which we most needed. I gave him the names of some sites where very early tablets had been found, and urged him to try to open up communication with the natives who lived on the banks of the Shatt al-Hayy. In return he gave me the names of his private agents in Baghdâd and in London, and he promised to send to me in London, through them, many of the objects which he had shown me that evening. He kept his promise, and for several years he forwarded collections of tablets to London, and the Trustees bought them. Among the antiquities which I asked him to look out for specially were Babylonian hæmatite seals, on which are engraved figures of early Babylonian gods, mythological scenes, etc. He replied that although a considerable number of such things were found in the *tulul*, or mounds, they rarely drifted into the towns, because the peasants who found them kept them and wore them as amulets. Men and women alike threaded them on strings, and fastened them to their bodies under their left arms, where, after a few years' contact with the sandy garments of their wearers, the figures on them lost all their sharpness, and the inscriptions became indistinct.

Before we parted for the night our host had some very excellent coffee and sweet cakes brought in, and whilst we were discussing these he described to us the conditions of the Jews and Muslims in Hillah, and the misgovernment of all classes by the authorities at Baghdâd. The usual bribery and corruption, which was common there as in many other parts of the East, was not what he complained of, but the studied neglect of the best interests of the people and their businesses, which would certainly ruin them, and in the end must wreck the Government.

According to our host, the Wâli Pâshâ was trying to govern Baghdâd and the whole province by laws exactly similar to those which the Porte employed in governing Stambûl, and the result was disastrous for the natives. The general position of affairs was made more difficult by the waste of money by the Government, and nearly all public works had come to a standstill. Owing to the lack of drainage and the want of regulators, etc., the floods covered more and more ground each year, and caused more and more destruction of fields and gardens. Taxes were mounting up year by year, and forced levies were made with increasing frequency. Over and above all this, the private properties of His Majesty the Sultân, which were numerous in that part of the country, were worked at the expense of the general community, and the officials of the Crown Domains received their salaries comparatively regularly, whilst those of the ordinary Departments of the Government were paid most irregularly, or not at all. The methods employed in collecting taxes in kind seemed to me to be most arbitrary, vexatious and unjust, and if only one-tenth of the abuses which our host enumerated to me, Mr. Holland interpreting, really existed, there was good reason for the curses on the Government which were called down by all classes everywhere.

Our host's views on the subject of excavations and the rights of foreign excavators were interesting, but disquieting, for they showed clearly that what Colonel Tweedie had already told me was correct. Evidently there was no way of stopping the diggings which we called "clandestine," and there seemed to be no doubt about the fact that we had no right to appoint watchmen, and that the natives regarded any attempt to appoint watchmen as illegal, and as an infringement of their own hereditary rights. Our host's words also showed me that the tunnels and trenches made by the early British excavators at Bâbil were invaluable aids to the searchers for bricks, who, by making use of them, saved themselves much time, trouble and expense. It was very sad to think that Rawlinson and his successors

had made themselves inadvertently the means of uprooting the walls and palaces of Babylon, and of carrying them away piecemeal. It was also clear from our host's remarks that a well organized trade in anticas existed, and that as the Baghdād Government were powerless to suppress it, there was little chance of any foreigner being able to do so. It was quite easy for Hamdî Bey and the Ministers in Stambûl to frame laws and draft regulations, but it was a wholly different thing to enforce them in a region which was some fifteen hundred miles distant, and was controlled chiefly by telegrams from the Porte. I could neither suppress nor control this trade in anticas, and it did not seem to me to be a part of my duty to interfere with it in any way on behalf of the Turkish authorities. But I did feel it to be my duty to help, in however small a degree, the preservation of Babylonian antiquities, and it seemed to me that I could do this best by making use of the dealers who were actively employed in carrying on the trade, and by showing them how to make themselves sources of supply for the collections of the British Museum. From the date of my visit to Hillah the natives exercised more care when digging up tablets, and they took trouble in order not to break or scrape them with their tools, not because they had the least feeling about injuring them, but because they knew I would not buy broken or "scraped" tablets.

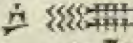
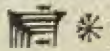
We left Hillah the following morning at dawn to return to Jumjumah, and to explore the ruins of Babylon. The fact that we had been purchasing antiquities seemed to be well known, for at many places we were stopped by men, and even children, who pressed us to buy the tablets which they had in their hands. I bought several old Babylonian contract tablets for a few piastres each, and several large pieces of cylinders of Esarhaddon for a majîdî (dollar) each. On our way back we rode through many gardens, and looked at several long low mounds about thirty feet high, which ran in a line, and it seemed to me that they might be remains of the mighty walls of the western part of the great Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar II. When we reached the river and looked

back all traces of the town had disappeared, and all that we could see was what Pietro della Valle saw in his day, a dense forest of date palms.¹ We were followed to the bridge of boats by a crowd of natives, and many of these, having no money to pay the bridge dues, swam across the Euphrates, which was about 130 yards wide, on bundles of reeds and inflated skins. We crossed the rickety bridge and rode to the hut in the village of Jumjumah in which we had slept on the night of our arrival. The brief account of our examination of the ruins of Babylon, and some notes on the excavations made there by travellers and others, are given in the following chapter. The personal narrative is continued on p. 311.

¹ Quando si vede la città di lontano non pare di vedere una città, ma una folta selva di dattili (Lettera xvii, tomo I, p. 385).

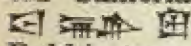

BÂBI-ILU, BÂBIL, BABYLON, THE "GATE OF GOD."

WHEN we left the little guest-house at Jumjumah, we decided to ride over the site of Babylon, and get a general view of the ruins before we attempted to look at the pits and trenches made by the excavators, or ask the natives any questions. It was about eight o'clock in the morning, and the ruins were brilliantly lighted by the sun, which had swallowed up the heavy white mist that had covered the earth an hour earlier. We rode over the mound of 'Amrân, and pulled up our horses on a small hill of débris which stood close by the huge mass of brickwork which marks the site of the great Fortress of Babylon, or the "Kaşr." At this point we stood well above every other part of the ruins, and we had a clear, good view of them and of the surrounding country. In the west, south and east we saw large sheets of flood-water, with wisps of mist clinging to their surfaces, and over the land round about them there was the shimmer of heat which foretold that the day would be hot. We agreed that Babylon must have been surrounded by gardens and groves of date palms, and that the region round the city must have been very fertile and pretty; but when I saw it that morning it was a howling wilderness, said by the natives to be bleak and terrible by night, and scorching and equally terrible by day. I saw no flocks and herds, and no people, and there seemed to me to be nothing but desert everywhere; and it was almost impossible to say where the desert ended and the ruins of the city began. A low ridge of ground about one mile to the east suggested that the mighty eastern wall of Babylon had stood there, and there were lower and shorter ridges on the north and south, which might mark the positions of her northern and southern walls; of the western or river wall, I could see no trace. But when I looked at these low ridges on the ground, and thought they might represent the walls of Babylon, I felt that this could hardly be so,

because the area enclosed by them was comparatively small, and it could not have been more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide in its widest part. As for the ruins themselves, they were indescribable. At the Kaşr were huge masses of brickwork, and near them lay the famous basalt lion mentioned by so many travellers, but everywhere else there was nothing except broken bricks and pottery, and sand, dust, and filth of all kinds, mixed together and piled up in heaps and ridges. Surely, I thought, there must be somewhere here some remains of the mighty walls of Babylon and her gates, but there was nothing. Fortresses, palaces, hanging-gardens, walls, gates, bazârs, houses, all had disappeared, leaving, as far as I could see, no trace; and I could not help thinking what every traveller must have thought as he looked over the ruins of Babylon, how literally have been fulfilled the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah concerning the complete and utter destruction which was to come upon Babylon. Babylon, which her founders arrogantly called "Tintira," i.e., "The Grove of Life," ,¹ and "Ka-Dingira," i.e., the "Gate of God," ,² is a "desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness." Babylon, the "glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency," is overthrown, even as were Sodom and Gomorrah. It has been swept with the "besom of destruction" and "threshed like a threshing floor." It has become literally "heaps." No Arab pitches his tent there, and shepherds do not "make their fold there," and for many centuries no man has lived there. The wild beasts of the desert lie down there; creatures that shriek fill their houses; creatures that wail dwell therein; and devils in the forms of hairy goats dance there. Jackals screech in its strongholds (or citadels), and serpents [hiss] in its palaces of delight (see Isaiah xiii, 19-22). Babylon has become a "horror, a thing to hiss at in derision, and a place without an inhabitant," and the god Bêl has been visited, even as Jeremiah prophesied

¹ Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins.*, i, pl. 55, col. 4, l. 71.

² Rawlinson, *ibid.*, pl. 53, col. 1, l. 2.

(li, 37, 44), and his ziggurat destroyed, and even its ruins have been removed to another place. The broad walls of Babylon have been utterly broken, and her high gates burned with fire (Jeremiah li, 58), and their ruins "have become a possession for the porcupine,"¹ and "sheets of water" (Isaiah xiv, 23) surround the city. In the pits among the heaps and among the broken brickwork we saw many hollows in which the wild animals of the desert (foxes, jackals, wild dogs and wild cats, hyenas, and wolves) had evidently sheltered, and in many places we saw lizards and serpents and slim snakes two feet in length, and scorpions. Wherever we turned there was ruin and desolation. It was easy to believe that no one would willingly cross the ruins after sunset, for apart from the pitfalls in the shape of holes in the ground, the wild beasts that lived in them made the ruins most unsafe for travellers. There was little enough about Bâbil when I saw it to justify its proud name of "Gate of God," and when I remembered that the city had been a mass of heaps and ruins for about two thousand years, it seemed that there was, perhaps, some excuse for the pun which the Jewish Rabbis, wittingly or unwittingly, made on its name. Semitic Babylonians translated the old Sumerian name "Ka Dingira" by "Ba-bi-lu," , i.e., "Gate of God," but the Jewish Rabbis transcribed these two words as one, "Bâbhel," , and then taught their disciples that the name was derived from the root בלל, and meant "confusion." The Assyrians and Persians did much to destroy Babylon, and the Rabbis heaped insult on her name, but those who are doing more to blot out the city and her memorial are the diggers for bricks, whom I saw carrying away bricks from her walls by the thousand in barges.

During the early centuries of our Era the southern portion of Babylon and the district close by it seem to have been inhabited by a miserable remnant of the people,

¹ I never saw a porcupine among the ruins, but the natives were well acquainted with the *kunfudh*, as they call the creature.

² Rawlinson, *Cun. Ins.*, i, pl. 53, No. 5.

and by a number of Jews, who cultivated divination and witchcraft, and claimed to inherit certain supernatural powers, which sections of the Babylonian priesthood were believed to have possessed. Long before the days of Muḥammad the Prophet, Bâbil was declared to be the abode of evil spirits, and two of the greatest of these are mentioned by name in the Kur'ân,¹ namely, Harût and Marût.² After referring to the well of Daniel the Prophet in Bâbil, Mas'ûdî says that the visitor to Bâbil will see great heaps of ruins of buildings in the form of hillocks, and that many believe Harût and Marût to be imprisoned beneath these.³ The Bâbil to which he refers, though he calls it the "capital of Afridûn," is clearly Babylon the Great, for he says that it is situated on the banks of one of the arms of the Euphrates, one hour's journey from the town which is called the "Bridge of Bâbil."⁴

One of the earliest European travellers to identify the site of Babylon correctly was the Rabbi Benjamin, of Tudela, who travelled thither in 1160, and says: "From thence you go in one day to Babel, or the ancient city of Babylon, which was over thirty miles in extent, but it is now laid waste; yet there are to be seen even at this time the ruinous remains of Nebuchadnezzar's

¹ Surah, ii.

² Muslim tradition says that these beings were sent on earth by God to tempt men and to teach them magic. They lived upon earth in the form of men for a very long time, and pleased God by their life and works. At length the spirit of the planet Venus appeared before them in the form of a very beautiful woman, who made a complaint against her husband, and asked their help. Both men fell in love with her on the spot, and made advances to her, but she resisted them and flew up to heaven, which she was permitted to enter. But when they flew up after her and tried to enter heaven, God cast them down and condemned them to dwell in Bâbil, suspended by their feet, until the day of judgment. Those who wish to learn magic can do so by going to them at Bâbil, but though students will hear the voices of Harût and Marût, they will never see them for they are always invisible. Jallâl ud-Dîn, quoted by Sale, *The Koran*, vol. i, London, 1825, p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 115.

⁴ On this town see G. le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 72, 74, 81.

palace, which men fear to enter, on account of the serpents and scorpions which have taken possession of it. . . . The edifice is constructed of hewn stones and bricks, as are also the synagogues and palace of Nebuchadnezzar, together with the burning fiery furnace, into which in ancient times were cast Ananias, Mischael, and Azarias. The valley where it lies is well known to all travellers."¹ It is probable that in the days of Rabbi Benjamin large portions of the chief buildings of Babylon, and many parts of the walls of the city, were still standing. When he speaks of Nebuchadnezzar's palace he must be referring to the ruins which are now called "Al-Ḳaṣr," and "Muḳēlibah," i.e., the "little ruin."

The account of Babylon given by John de Burdens,² or Sir John de Mandeville, even though his information was derived from the observations and travels of others,³ is of considerable interest. It is said that he set out on his travels in 1322, but I cannot see in his description of Babylon any evidence that either he or any of the authorities from whom he borrowed, ever went to Babylon. There is nothing in it which could not have been found in ancient writings. He says: And undirstonde yee, that that *Babyloyn*e that I have spoken offe, where that the Soudan duellethe, is not that gret *Babyloyn*e, where the *Dyversitee* of *Langages* was first made for vengeance, by the Myracle of God, when the grete Tour of *Babel* was begonnen to ben made; of the whiche the Walles weren 64 Furlonges of heichte; that is in the grete Desertes of *Arabye*, upon the Weye, as Men gon toward the Kyngdom of *Caldee*. But it is fulle longe sithe that ony Man durste neyhe to the Tour: for it is alle deserte and fulle of Dragouns and grete Serpentes, and fulle of dyverse venymouse Bestes alle abouten. That Tour, with the Cytee, was of 25 Myle in cyrcuyt of the Walles; as thei

¹ Ed. Asher, p. 106.

² See G. F. Warner, *The Buke of John Mandeville*, Westminster, 1889; D. Murray, *John de Burdens, or John de Burgundia, otherwise John de Mandeville and the Pestilence*, 1891 (privately printed).

³ See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, vol. xii, p. 908, where a list of the authorities will be found.

of the Contree seyn, and as Men may demen by estymatioun, aftré that Men tellen of the Contree. And thoughe it be clept the Tour of *Babiloyne*, yit natheles there were ordeyned with inne many Mansiouns and many gret duellynge Places, in lengthe and brede: And that Tour conteyned gret Contree in circuyt: For the Tour allone conteyned 10 myle square. That Tour founded Kyng Nembrothe, that was Kyng of that Contree: and he was firste Kyng of the World. And he leet make an Ymage in the lyknesse of his Fadre, and constreyned alle his Subgettes for to worschipe it. And anon begonnen othere Lordes to do the same. And so begonnen the Ydoles and the Symulacres first. The Town and the Cytee weren fulle wel sett in a fair Contree and a Playn; that Men clepen the Contree of *Samar*: of the whiche the Walles of the Cytee werein 200 Cubytes in heighte, and 50 Cubytes in breadthe. And the Ryvere of *Euphrate* ran thorghe out the Cytee and aboute the Tour also. But *Cirus* the Kyng of *Perse* toke from hem the Ryvere, and destroyed alle the Cytee and the Tour also. For he departed that Ryvere in 360 smale Ryveres; because that he had sworn, that he scholde putte the Ryvere in such poynt, that a Wōman myghte wel passe there, withouten castynge off of hir Clothes; for als moche as he hadde lost many worthi Men, that troweden to passen that Ryvere by Swymmynge.¹

John Newberie, who, in April, 1581, crossed the desert from Al-Fallūjah on the Euphrates to Baghdād, makes no mention of Babylon, and makes no allusion to the Tower of Babel.² John Eldred, who in 1583 travelled by the same route, says that he saw "the ruines of the old tower of Babell, which being upon a plaine ground, seemeth afarre off very great. Sundry times I have gone thither to see it, and found the remnants yet standing, above a quarter of a mile in compasse, and about as high as the stone-worke of Paule's steeple in London. The

¹ *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile, Kt.*, London, 1827, p. 47.

² See Purchas, his Pilgrims, Part II, London, 1625, p. 1411.

bricks remaining in this most ancient monument be halfe a yard thicke and three quarters of a yard long, being dried in the sonne onely ; and between every course of bricks there lieth a course of matter made of canes, which remaine sound and not perishe, as though they had been layed within one yeare."¹ The "tower" which Eldred mistook for the Tower of Babel was the remains of the step-pyramid, or temple-tower, which was built by one of the Kassite kings in the city of Dûr Kurigalzu, and is known to-day by the name of 'Akar-Ķûf.'

Rauwolf, who was travelling in the country in 1588, arrived at a place on the Euphrates which he calls "Elugo" (Al-Fallûjah?), where caravans started to cross the desert to Baghdâd. Here his party unloaded their goods which they had brought from Bîr, and paid toll "under the open sky" in the harbour, which lay a quarter of a league distant from Elugo. And he says that Elugo lies on the place where formerly old Babylon stood. He then continues : " This country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare, that I should have doubted very much whether this potent and powerful City (which was then the most stately and famous one of the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of Sinar) did stand there, if I should not have known it by its situation, and several ancient and delicate antiquities that still are standing about in great desolation. Firstly the old bridge, which was laid over the Euphrates (which also is called Sud by the Prophet Baruch in his

¹ See Eldred, *The Voyage to Trypolis in Syria and from thence to Babylon and Balsora*, London, 1598. Purchas describes the ruin which John Eldred saw in almost the same words, and also quotes " Master Fitch, Master Cartwright and Master Allen," but he adds, " I can scarce think it to be that tower or temple, because authors place it in the midst of Old Babylon, and neere Euphrates ; whereas this is nearer Tigris " (*Purchas, his Pilgrimage*, London, 1626, chap. ii, p. 50).

² This ruin stands by itself on the plain, and there is nothing round about it to show that there was ever a town there, but from the allusions to 'Akar-Ķûf found in the work of Ibn al-Athîr (e.g., vol. iv, p. 328) it is quite clear that a flourishing city stood there in the early centuries of the Hijrah.

first chapter¹), whereof there are some piers and arches still remaining, and to be seen at this very day a little above where we landed. These arches are built of burnt brick, and so strong, that it is admirable; and that so much the more, because all along the river as we came from Bir, where the river is a great deal smaller, we saw never a bridge; wherefore I say it is admirable, which way they could build a bridge here, where the river is at least half a league broad, and very deep besides. Near the bridge are several heaps of Babylonian pitch. . . .

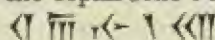
"Something further, just before the village of Elugo, is the hill whereon the castle did stand in a plain, whereon you may still see some ruins of the fortification, which is quite demolished and uninhabited: behind it pretty near to it, did stand the Tower of Babylon, which the children of Noah (who first inhabited these countries after the Deluge) began to build up to heaven; this we see still, and it is half a league in diameter, but it is so mightily ruined, and low, and so full of vermin that have bored holes through it, that one may not come near it within half a mile, but only in two months in the winter when they come not out of their holes."² The second of these paragraphs suggests that Rauwolf saw the Birs-i-Nimrûd at least, and the holes in it which he says were bored by vermin may be the "series of rhomboidal holes" which Rawlinson thought were made for ventilation or drainage. It must be remembered that Rauwolf was neither an antiquarian nor an archæologist, but a botanist, and his views of the topography of Babylon were strange. He does not say where his caravan started from for Baghdâd, but after it had travelled for twelve hours on the road to that city he found himself camped by an old, dry canal (the Nahr Malkâ?). He thought that the high banks of it were parts of the walls of Babylon, and the openings in them the places where the gates had stood.

¹ "Even of all them that dwelt at Babylon by the river Sud." (Baruch i, 4.) By "river" Baruch, of course, means "canal."

² See Rauwolf's narrative in J. A. Ray, *A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages*, London, 1693, vol. i, p. 174.

The account of the ruins of Babylon given by Pietro della Valle, who visited them in 1620, is valuable, for he was the first Renaissance traveller who had sufficient scholarship and antiquarian knowledge to appreciate and understand what he saw.¹ He certainly visited the ruins of Babylon, and it is quite easy to understand how difficult he found it to describe them, even after he had walked over the mounds time after time, and climbed up to their tops, and wandered about them everywhere.² He first visited a confused heap of ruins as large as a mountain, and found there a rectangular mass in the form of a tower or pyramid, the four sides of which faced the four corners of the world; its circuit was 1,134 paces, or about half a mile. The size, situation, and form of the building suggested to him that it might be the tomb of Belus, mentioned by Strabo, and that this was the land of Nimrod. Looking all around and noticing the flatness of the country, he found it difficult, in fact almost impossible, to believe that the great and mighty city of Babylon was ever built there. The height of the mound varied, but he thought that it was certainly higher than any of the great palaces at Naples.³ He found no signs of stairs or steps, and no doors. Inside it, on the upper part, he saw some chambers (*alcune grotte*), but all were in ruins, and he was unable to decide whether they formed parts of the original structure, or were shelters made by the natives in modern times. The sight of them recalled to his mind the old legend of Harût and Marût, which has

¹ It must never be forgotten that Pietro was the first European to publish cuneiform characters, and to recognize that they formed writing. He says: "O parole o soli caratteri che siano, al meglio che io potei ne copiai tra gli altri cinque, che vidi e riconobbi in più luoghi della scrittura, e son le figure che porrò qui sotto . . . I cinque caratteri adunque che copiai sono i seguenti



Mi da indizio che possa scriversi dalla sinistra alla destra al modo nostro, etc." (*Lettera xv*, da Sciraz, ed. Gancia, tomo ii, pp. 252, 253).

² "Girai poi la rovine da tutte le parti; salii in cima, camminai dentro per tutto, vidi, rividi . . ." (*Lettera xvii*, tomo i, p. 381).

³ "Ma sotto sopra sarà più di ogni alto palazzo di Napoli" (p. 383). *Read* piu alto di ogni (?).

been already mentioned. He describes both kinds of bricks which he saw there, the baked and the crude, and he collected specimens of both kinds, with the reeds and bitumen attached, to exhibit to his archæological friends in Italy on his return. At first sight it would seem that he is describing the mass of brickwork at the Kaşr, but a careful consideration of his words suggests that he is describing the ruins of the mound of Bâbil, which, it is probable, was then in a better state of preservation than when later travellers saw it. One thing is quite certain: della Valle visited Babylon and examined the ruins personally. As he spent a couple of days at Hilla it is a little strange that he did not visit Birs-i-Nimrûd, which, unless the floods are out, is little more than an hour's ride from the town gate. He says that it was suggested to him to go and see the Tomb of Ezekiel at Kifl, and that he did not go, and that he afterwards greatly regretted it.¹ As he would have passed Birs on the way to Kifl, there must have been some good reason for his not going to either place.

Another learned Italian who travelled extensively in Assyria and Babylonia during the seventeenth century was the Padre F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena. On his journey from Môsul to Baghdâd he saw, near the latter city, a large hill (monticello), which some considered to be the remains of the Tower of Babel. But he remembered that, according to the Scriptures, the Tower of Babel was built close to the Euphrates in Babylon, whilst the hill of which he speaks was near the Tigris, and he regarded it as a beacon tower.² The hill was, of course, 'Akar-Kûf. At a later stage of his travels he sailed up the Euphrates from Baṣrah to Hilla, where he stayed two days. He accepted the opinion, which was current in the country at the time, that Babylon stood in the immediate neighbourhood, first, because the site of Babylon was on the Euphrates, and secondly, because

¹ Lettera xvii, tomo i, pp. 385, 386.

² "Che questo fosse un luogo fabricato dagli antichi Assirij, per dar segno col fuoco alle Terre circonvicine" (*Viaggio all' Indie Orientali*, Venice, 1683, p. 86).

of the splendid ruins, which covered a vast space, and thirdly, because of the ruins of the Tower of Babel, which to that very day were called the "Tower of Nimrod."¹ Whether he explored the ruins of Babylon is not clear, but it seems quite certain that he identified the wall on the mound of Birs-i-Nimrûd with the remains of the Tower of Babel.

Karsten (Carsten) Niebuhr (1733-1815) travelled in the East from 1760-67. After an examination of Hillah and the ruins of Babylon, he came to the conclusion that Hillah stands on a part of the site of the great city itself, and then goes on to show that the buildings of Babylon have disappeared because they were built of bricks which could easily be carried away. He thought that the remains of the Citadel and the Hanging Garden were to be sought for under the ruins which lie on the east bank, about a quarter of a mile (German) from the river, to the north-north-east of Hillah, where one or two very old trees are to be seen. All the parts of the walls of Babylon which were above ground had disappeared, thanks to the diggers for bricks, some of whom he actually saw digging out their foundations. Niebuhr also held that Birs-i-Nimrûd originally formed part of the city of Babylon, and he thought it possible that the temple tower there formed a part of the Temple of Bél.²

So far as I can ascertain, the first European who attempted to find out something about the ancient history of Babylon and the state of the ruins which lay under the mounds, was M. l'Abbé J. de Beauchamp, Vicaire-général de Babylon. Between 1781 and 1785 he travelled over many parts of Babylonia, and in 1784 he made a journey to Hillah, and descended the Euphrates and

¹ "Commune è l'opinione che questa sij l'antica Babilonia, il che sià prova dal sito (essendo sù le sponde dell' Euphrate) dalla fecondità de' terreni circonvicini, e dalle ruine di fabbriche molto sontuose, che per molte miglia al' intorno sopr' avanzano, ma più dalle reliquie della Torre, la quale fin' al giorno d' hoggi è chiamata di Nembrot" (*ibid.*, p. 496).

² *Reisebeschreibung*, vol. ii, p. 288.

visited Baṣrah.¹ Like many of his predecessors, he identified 'Aḡar-Ḳûf with the Tower of Nimrod,² a fact which was due to the custom then prevalent of calling Baghdâd "New Babylon." He was an acute observer, and his account of the mound of Bâbil, which he estimated to be sixty feet high, is concise, and apparently accurate. In talking to the natives he learned from one of the professional diggers for bricks that he obtained his bricks from main walls, and from walls which enclosed chambers. During his diggings he had found earthenware vessels, engraved marbles, a life-sized statue, idols of clay, etc. On the wall of one chamber were the figures of a cow and of the sun and moon, formed of glazed bricks; on one brick was the figure of a lion. His informant then took him along a trench which he had dug during his work to reach a wall which must have been about sixty feet thick. In the hollow [which Rich calls the valley] was a subterranean canal, with a roof made of pieces of sandstone, 6 or 7 feet long by 3 wide. M. Beauchamp employed two men in clearing the rubbish from a stone which they supposed to be an idol. This was the basalt lion, which Mr. Rich similarly cleared twenty-seven years later. On the eastern side M. Beauchamp found a white and red stone, 2 feet square and 6 inches thick, and the digger told him he had seen a wall of varnished bricks on the same side of the city. He concluded that the stamped characters on the burnt bricks were writing, and took some of them back with him to France, and presented them to his friend the Abbé Barthélemy. From this account it is clear that the natives in digging for bricks had succeeded in reaching the substructure of parts of the buildings of the Ḳaṣr, or neighbouring buildings. We know that Babylonian and Assyrian kings placed their inscribed cylinders in chambers in the foundations of their buildings, and as the diggers for bricks had dug down to some of these chambers they must have found inscribed cylinders in one or more of them.

¹ See *Voyage de Bagdad à Bassora de long de l'Euphrate* in *Journal des Sçavans*, May, 1785, p. 285 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 288 ff.

Now, in the Rich Collection¹ of Oriental Antiquities there were "four earthen cylinders covered with cuneiform writing," and "thirty-two pieces of clay covered with cuneiform writing," and "thirteen bricks with writing in the cuneiform character," and a "black stone covered with cuneiform writing and ornamented with figures of men and animals," and a "large granite stone written on three sides, and on the fourth side figures of a priest holding a staff, a star, sun and moon." It is quite certain that most of these objects came from Babylon, and as Mr. Rich did not dig them up himself they must either have been purchased by him or presented to him; in any case, they prove that the natives had at the beginning of the nineteenth century probed the ruins of Babylon to their foundations.

A paragraph in M. Beauchamp's account of some antiquities found in the neighbourhood of Baghdâd leaves little doubt that many Babylonian cylinders were in the possession of natives before the end of the eighteenth century. The indefatigable explorer says: "Besides the bricks with inscriptions which I have mentioned, there are solid cylinders, three inches in diameter, of a white substance, covered with very small writing, resembling the inscriptions of Persepolis mentioned by Chardin."² Four years ago I saw one, but I was not eager to procure it, as I was assured that they were very common. I mentioned them to the master-mason, who told me that he sometimes found such, but left them among the rubbish as useless. Black stones which have inscriptions on them are also met with. These, I was told, were found at Broussa [Birs?] which is separated from Makloube [Bâbil] by the river. I was informed that an Arab at Hella had one in his possession, and did all I could to procure it, or at least to obtain a sight of it, but I could not succeed. In 1782 one was sent to Paris by M. And. Michaux, a botanist, who was at that time at Baghdâd.

¹ The British Parliament purchased this Collection, including a Persian sextant, on May 3rd, 1825, for £1,000, and it was handed over to the Trustees of the British Museum.

² The great French traveller in Persia; born 1643, died 1713.

I have been assured by the Arabs that a day's journey from the last-mentioned city, and six leagues from the Tigris, there is a stone of enormous size, covered with inscriptions."¹

We now come to the most important of all the early descriptions of Babylon, namely, that of C. J. Rich, who visited the ruins in 1811.² According to him the ruins of the eastern part of the city of Babylon began about two miles north of Hillah, and they consisted of two large mounds and several small ones; the most northerly mound, Bâbil, is that mentioned by Pietro della Valle. He grouped the ruins thus:

(1) The mound of Jumjumah [*i.e.*, the skull], on which stands the tomb of 'Alî ibn 'Amrân. This he called the "Mound of 'Amrân."

(2) A valley to the east of the Kaşr, with the ruins of a building, in which he found a subterranean passage at the northern end. This passage was floored and walled with large bricks laid in bitumen, and covered over with pieces of sandstone, a yard thick and several yards long. The weight of the roof was so great as to give a considerable degree of obliquity to the side walls of the passage. Near this place Mr. Rich uncovered the famous basalt lion, with a man lying prostrate under him. The natives told the Abbé Beauchamp about this lion in 1782, and he cleared away the débris on and about it, and it is still there.

(3) The ruins of a fine brick building, 38 feet high, with

¹ Like Major J. Rennell (see his *Geographical System of Herodotus*, London, 1800, p. 367) I have not been able to see the French original of M. Beauchamp's article. The great French Dict. of Biography states that it was published in the *Journal des Sçavans* for 1791, but the only copy of the work which I have been able to consult, that in the British Museum Library, lacks the part for July, which presumably contains M. Beauchamp's article. Major Rennell quoted an English translation of the article which appeared in the *European Magazine*, vol. xxi, London, 1792, pp. 338-342, and like Rich, Ker Porter, Buckingham and many others, I have done the same.

² *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon in 1811*, London, 1839, p. 8 ff.



The basalt lion at Babylon discovered by M. l'Abbé Beauchamps in 1782.

several walls, and piers 8 feet thick, called by the natives "Al-Ḳaṣr," i.e., "the Palace" or "The Fortress." One part of the wall was split into three, and was overturned as if by an earthquake.¹ Close by this was a very old tree which local tradition said had been specially spared from the Hanging Gardens that 'Alī might tether his horse to it after the Battle of Hilla.

(4) The mound to the north of the Ḳaṣr called "Bâbil." Here there were many dens of wild beasts, and in the cavities were large numbers of bats and owls. The site had an evil reputation among the natives, who declared that it was an abode of evil spirits.

Rich set small parties of men to dig in various parts of the ruins. At Bâbil a party of twelve men dug into a hollow shaft sixty feet square, lined with bricks laid in bitumen, and in a passage leading from it he found a coffin and skeleton, and in the shaft itself a few other objects.

Ker Porter² and Buckingham³ visited Babylon and discussed Rich's conclusions, and formulated theories of their own about the extent of the city and the position of the great walls, and tried to harmonize the measurements given by classical writers with the ruins that they saw there. There is no need to summarize the results they arrived at. These results were not supported by the facts, which could only be obtained by making excavations, and they are without value. It is curious that such able men did not realize that the only way to obtain an accurate plan of Babylon and its walls and buildings was to clear away the rubbish heaps from the site, and dig out the parts of the buildings which remained. Mr. Rich, or any of the Consuls-General of Baghdâd, had influence enough to obtain workmen, and the cost of excavation in those days would have been small. It is

¹ It seemed to me that the natives called this ruin MUḲĒLIBAH, مَقْلِبَة, i.e., the "little overturned building," as opposed to the mound of Bâbil, which is called MAḲLŪBAH, مَقْلُوبَة, "the overturned building."

² *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 309 ff.

³ *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 359 ff.

true that he made small parties of men dig in several places, but how anyone could imagine that the plan of ancient Babylon could be revealed by means of a party of twelve men working for a few days baffles comprehension. More than a century has passed since Rich examined Babylon, and we may be sure that during this period the seekers for bricks for building purposes have been digging incessantly, and carrying away the walls and buildings of the ancient city piecemeal. There is much less of Babylon left now to be examined than there was in 1811, and what has been carried away from it meanwhile is gone, alas! for ever.

In the latter half of December, 1851, Layard excavated a part of the northern face of Bâbil, and discovered many coffins of the Parthian period, and the tunnels which he bored in various parts of the mound yielded arrowheads, glass bottles, etc., of the same date. He then opened tunnels in the mound on a level with the plain, and soon reached "solid piers and walls of brick masonry." He uncovered several piers and walls, but "failed to trace any plan." He next examined the Kaşr, and "sought in vain for some clue to the general plan of the edifice." He was unable to clear entirely, during his residence at Hillah, the subterranean passage which the natives had shown to the Abbé Beauchamp and to Rich. The tree on the northern edge of the ruin, which is mentioned by Rich, and about which so many legends were current, still existed. Both Rich and Layard call it "Athalé," as if this were a special name given to it by the Arabs, and neither seems to have remembered that *athlah* (أثل) is the common Arabic word for the oriental tamarisk. Passing to the south Layard dug in the mound of 'Amrân ibn 'Alî, and found pieces of glass, jars, etc., of the Greek period, and a large number of divining bowls, inscribed on the insides with magical texts in Hebrew, Mandaïtic, etc. As the result of these excavations he thought that his "finds" did not "tend to prove that there were remains beneath the heaps of earth and rubbish which would reward more extensive excavations. It was not even possible to trace the plan

of any one edifice; only shapeless piles of masonry and isolated walls and piers were brought to light." What this opinion was worth will be seen when we come to the section describing Dr. Koldewey's researches at Babylon. Like Ker Porter and Buckingham, Layard visited the mound of Al-Uhêmar, *i.e.*, "the little red hill," which lies about seven miles due east of the Kaşr, and though he concluded that it contained the ruins of a "solid square structure, consisting, like the Birs Nimroud, of a series of terraces or platforms," he made no excavations there.¹

Between 1851 and 1854 Oppert studied the ruins of Babylon carefully on the spot. He tried to make the measurements given by Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, etc., agree with those of the ruins as they then were, and he failed. He made out on his map² that the plan of Babylon was a perfect square, and that Birs-i-Nimrûd formed a portion of the city.

In 1854 Rawlinson spent ten days in examining the Kaşr and the ruins about it, whilst Tonietti was making excavations at Birs-i-Nimrûd, and recovering cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar II from the mound, as already mentioned. He does not, however, appear to have made any attempt to excavate the ruins of the great temple which lie close to the mound.³

In the years 1878-81 Mr. H. Rassam carried out excavations at the Kaşr, but with the exception of finding half a dozen rooms of what was once a grand palace of the kings of Babylon, where Belshazzar was supposed to have lost his life, he could "find no regular structure to enable [him] to identify any part of the different buildings which must have existed at the time. The whole place seemed to have been upheaved or overthrown by an earthquake, or by some other supernatural destruction."⁴ The ruins of 'Amrân ibn 'Alî were "still more

¹ *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853, p. 502 ff.

² See *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, 2 vols., with plates and a map, Paris, 1863.

³ *Journal Royal Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xviii, 1860, p. 1 ff.

⁴ *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. viii., p. 184.

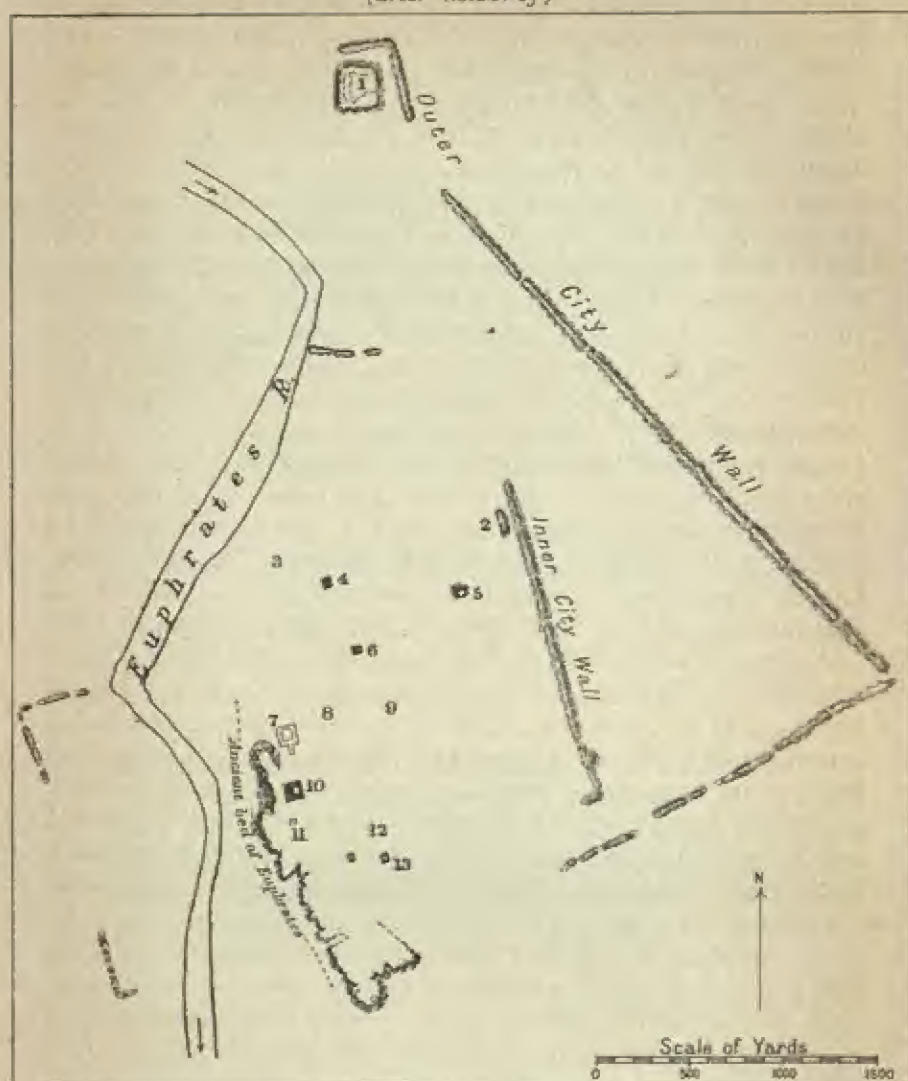
mysterious" to him, for he "dug [down] in some places more than forty feet, as far as the water, and yet not a single object of antiquity was found." In the mound of Bâbil, where he thought the Hanging Gardens stood, there were "four most elegantly built wells of reddish stone, three placed parallel, and within a few feet of each other, in the northern centre of the mound, the fourth some distance away. . . . Each stone, about three feet in thickness, had been bored, and made to fit the one below it so exactly that one would imagine that the whole well was hewn out of one solid rock. These wells are connected with a subterraneous arched vault, communicating with an aqueduct supplied with water from the Euphrates, and when [he] had one of them cleared of the débris down to the bottom [he] came to water."¹ It is sad to read that when Mr. Rassam was there the natives were breaking up these stones to burn into lime! During his excavations here a portion of a baked clay cylinder of Cyrus (B.C. 538-529) was found, inscribed in the Babylonian character with an account of his conquest of Babylonia, and of the chief events of his reign in that country.² Before the works were brought to an end the Arabs told him about a solid platform built of baked bricks laid in bitumen, but though he dug there for a fortnight there were no results. Mr. Rassam next turned his attention to Birs-i-Nimrûd, which he supposed to form a part of Babylon, and he seems to have dug out about eighty chambers of the temple. The results of his work here and at Tall Ibrâhîm al-Khalîl have already been described (p. 250).

Nothing further was done at Babylon until March, 1899, when Dr. Koldewey began the systematic excavation of the ruins. On May 16th, 1912, he reported that only about one-half of the work had been accomplished, although he had employed daily, both summer and winter, from 200 to 250 workmen. The discussion of excavations made at Babylon since my last visit to the ruins in 1891

¹ *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. viii, p. 186.

² Now in the British Museum (No. 90,920).

PLAN OF BABYLON
(after Koldewey)



1. The mound Bâbil
2. " " Humarah
3. " " Kaşr
4. E-Makh, Temple of Ninmach
5. The Greek Theatre
6. Temple of Ishtar

7. E-Temenanki, The Tower of Babel
8. Şakhn
9. Administrative offices and bazâr
10. E-Sağla, the temple of Marduk
11. The mound 'Amrân
12. Ishîn aswad

13. E-Patutila, Temple of Ninib

naturally does not lie within the scope of this book; but Dr. Koldewey's work at Babylon has been systematic and thorough, and has produced important results, and has increased our knowledge of the walls and buildings and general plan of the city; and a brief description of it must be given here in order to complete my sketch of the excavations at Babylon and in the immediate neighbourhood. The results which he has already achieved dispose once and for all of the theories which travellers and others have published about the walls and buildings of Babylon. They seem to have been far more occupied in justifying the statements of ancient authors than in discovering the actual plan of the city. The cost of the excavations at Babylon during the years 1899-1913 was defrayed by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, who published in their "*Mitteilungen*" frequent reports about the work done. In 1913 Dr. Koldewey published in German a general summary¹ of his work up to date, and stated the conclusions at which he had arrived, and in the following year a version of it appeared in English.² On these works the following paragraphs are based.

The mound Bâbil, the most northerly of all the great buildings of Babylon, is 22 metres high, and its area at the base is 250 metres square. The city walls enclosed it on the north and east, and the Nil Canal ran practically parallel with them for some distance. The building which stood here was a palace of Nebuchadnezzar II. Coming southward the next great building was the Kašr (to the east of the modern village of Kuwêrish), or "Castle," or "Citadel," of Babylon, built by Nebuchadnezzar II. Here is what he calls the "Bâbil Street," paved with slabs of limestone 3 feet 6 inches square, and here were the enamelled-brick walls, with figures of lions and fabulous monsters upon them. One of the most striking ruins uncovered here is that of what he calls the Ishtar Gate, the walls of which (12 metres high) still stand.

¹ *Das wieder erstehenden Babylon. Die bisherigen Ergebnisse der deutschen Ausgrabung*, 1913.

² *The Excavations at Babylon*, an English translation by A. S. Johns, London, 1914.

He thinks it "the largest and most striking ruin of Babylon, and, with the exception of the Tower of Borsippa (*i.e.*, Birs-i-Nimrûd), of all Mesopotamia." The walls are decorated with figures of bulls and "dragons." The "dragon" has the body of a quadruped, with scales, a serpent's head with a forked tongue, with two erect horns and two spiral combs; the tail is a serpent, with a curved sting at the end; the forelegs are those of some animal and the hind legs those of a huge bird, with strong claws and scales. Near its ears are curls of hair, and along the back of its neck lies a row of curls. To the east of the "Ishtar Gate" is the Temple of the goddess Ninmakh, at the southern end of which there stood on a pedestal the figure of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated; in the great court is a well. The ruins of this temple revealed for the first time the plan of a Babylonian temple.

In the north-east corner of the "Southern Citadel" is the "Vaulted Building," which Dr. Koldewey thinks "occupies an exceptional place among the buildings of the Citadel, and even of the whole city—one might almost say of the entire country. Fourteen cells, similar in size and shape, balance each other on the two sides of a central passage, and are surrounded by a strong wall. Round this slightly irregular quadrangle runs a narrow corridor, of which the far side to the north and east is in large measure formed of the outer wall of the Citadel, while other ranges of similar cells abut on it to the west and south. In one of these western cells there is a well which differs from all other wells known either in Babylon or elsewhere in the ancient world. It has three shafts placed close to each other, a square one in the centre and oblong ones on each side, an arrangement for which I can see no other explanation than that a mechanical hydraulic machine stood here, which worked on the same principle as our chain pump, where buckets attached to a chain work on a wheel placed over the well. A whim works the wheel in endless rotation. This contrivance, which is used to-day in the neighbourhood, and is called a *dolab* (water bucket), would provide a continuous flow of water. . . . The ruin lies completely below the level of

the palace floor, and is the only crypt found in Babylon. . . . All the chambers were vaulted with circular arches. . . . Further observation of the ground plan shows that the central chambers with the same span as the outside row have thicker walls. The only explanation for this must be that the former were more heavily weighted than the latter, a supposition which is corroborated by the expansion joints that surround them, by which the vaulting itself is disconnected from the wall surrounding it on all four sides. Owing to this the whole of the fourteen barrel-vaultings could move as freely upwards or downwards within the enclosing quadrangle as the joint of a telescope. In this respect the Vaulted Building is unique among the buildings of Babylon, and in another respect also it is exceptional. Stone was used in the building. . . . There are only two places where hewn stone occurs in any large quantity—in the Vaulted Building and on the north wall of the Kaşr, and it is remarkable that in all the literature referring to Babylon, including the cuneiform inscriptions, stone is only mentioned as used in two places, in the north wall of the Kaşr, and in the Hanging Gardens. . . . Add to this that the ruins themselves, as well as the written evidence, only speak of one single building that differed from the others to a striking extent—the Vaulted Building of the Kaşr and the *κρεμαστὸς κήπος*¹ and therefore I consider them to be identical" (pp. 91-95).

Thus it is quite clear that Dr. Koldewey is of opinion that the "Vaulted Building" represents the substructure of the celebrated Hanging Gardens. But if he *does*, and the Hanging Gardens were in the Kaşr, and were "laid out on the roof of an occupied building," as he says (p. 100), they must, it seems to me, have been something quite insignificant, and it is impossible to understand why they were reckoned as one of the Seven Wonders of the World. In any case, before accepting this identification, we may consider what ancient writers

¹ It is misleading of classical writers to speak of this "supported" garden as "suspended."

have said about the Hanging Garden.¹ Herodotus does not mention it, and apparently Ctesias did not, for Diodorus does not quote him on the Hanging Garden, though he quotes him on many other things in Babylon. Philo of Byzantium may not really be the author of the treatise on the Seven Wonders of the World that is usually ascribed to him, for some authorities think the style is too rhetorical for him, and that it savours of a later period. In that case, there does not appear to be any mention of the Hanging Garden till we come to an epigram by Antipater of Sidon on the Seven Wonders, and Antipater lived three centuries later than Herodotus and Ctesias. Instead of the Hanging Garden, Hyginus² gives the palace of Cyrus at Ecbatana in his notice of the Seven Wonders, and Pliny, xix, 15 (19), mentions a report that the Hanging Garden was built by Cyrus. It is possible that statements about the Garden of Cyrus were transferred to the Hanging Garden, and, as a matter of fact, the accounts of it are so contradictory that they cannot all be referring to the same thing.

Thus Philo says that the Garden was supported on stone columns, with trunks of palm-trees laid upon them like a roof. Strabo says that it was supported on square piers of brickwork, laid in asphalte, with vaulting of the same material across the intervening spaces. Diodorus says it was supported on a series of walls, 22 feet thick and 10 feet apart, with stone beams measuring 16 feet by 4 feet across the space between; and on these beams there was a roof of reed laid in asphalte, with brick above it, and sheets of lead above that, carrying the garden soil. Curtius speaks of walls 20 feet thick and 11 feet apart, and a stone roof carrying the soil. Diodorus and Strabo say that the Garden was square, and measured 4 plethra each way, *i.e.*, 400 feet, so there presumably would be thirteen of these walls and twelve passages between them. He says that each passage was higher than the one in

¹ Philo Byzantinus, *De Septem Orbis Spectaculis*, i; Antipater Sidonius, 52, 1; Diodorus, ii, 10; Strabo, xvi, 1, 5; Curtius, v, 1, 5; Josephus, *De Antiquitatibus Judaicis*, x, 13.

² *Fabulae*, No. 223, ed. Schefer, Hamburg, 1674, 8vo.

front of it, and that the hindermost was 50 cubits high, i.e., 75 feet. The Garden would thus ascend in terraces about 6 feet high, 32 feet wide, and 400 feet long, looking (as Strabo says) like a great flight of stairs, or (as Diodorus says) like the tiers of seats in a theatre. It was planted with large trees as well as with flowers and fruits, and the watering was done by an hydraulic screw that went down from the highest terrace to the level of the Euphrates. In my opinion a Garden of this size and kind never existed in Babylon.

The largest chamber of the Kaşr, the "Citadel" of Dr. Koldewey, is probably the "throne-room." It is about 52 metres long and 17 metres broad, and the wall on the longest side is about 6 metres thick. More than one excavator has suggested that this was the room in which Belshazzar saw the writing on the wall (Daniel v, 5).

The oldest palace of which remains can be found on the mound of the Kaşr is that of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar II, and on the north and south sides the building was dug out to a considerable depth. In the north-west corner Dr. Koldewey found a pottery coffin of very unusual size, and remains of the ornaments, etc., belonging to the body which had occupied it; as the burial must have taken place in the days of Nebuchadnezzar II, he wonders if the person buried there was the king's father, Nabopolassar.

In the space between the palace and the "moat wall of Imgur-Bel" stood the pillared hall, with a pillared fore-hall, to which Dr. Koldewey has given the name of "The Persian Building," because the remains which he has found there show that the building must have resembled a Persian *apadana*,¹ or palace.

¹ The Babylonian AP-PA-DA-AN 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, Oppert, *Expédition*, ii, p. 194 (variants: 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, Strassmaier, *Alph. Verz.*, No. 615, p. 112, and 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, *P.S.B.A.*, vol. xi, March, 1889, pl. vii, l. 16), which is a Semiticized form of an old Persian word, has its equivalent in the 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (*appādhēn*) of Daniel xi, 45, the Syriac ܐܦܕܢܐ (*appadanā*), and the Arab. ٱدْنَان, plur. of ٱدْن. See Noeldeke, *Z.D.M.G.*, Bd. xxix, p. 439, and Lagarde, *Pers. Studien*, i, p. 71.

At the north-eastern corner of the "Principal Citadel" of the Kaşr lay the great basalt lion which has already been mentioned. The lion stands in the act of trampling on a man who lies beneath him, with his right hand on the flank of the beast and his left hand on the beast's muzzle. Close by the lion, but deeper down, was found the stele of Shamash-rish-uşur, and to the east of the lion a Hittite stele.¹

Continuing our way southwards we come to a large plain which, because of its comparatively flat appearance, the Arabs have called "Şahn," *i.e.*, "dish," or "flat tray," and by implication "plateau," which represents the peribolos of the ziggurat E-Temen-An-Ki, *i.e.*, "The House of the Foundation Stone of Heaven and Earth," or the great Tower of Babel. This Tower stood in a walled area, which was almost square, and all the buildings in it were of crude brick; the core of the Tower was enclosed in a solid casing of burnt brick, and the Tower was approached by a stairway from the south. In the wall of the area were two doors and ten gateways, and adjoining it on the inside were (1) Houses for the priests, (2) lodgings for pilgrims, (3) store-houses. That this walled area and the Tower, and the other buildings inside it, represent the sanctuary of Zeus Belus described by Herodotus, all scholars are agreed, but Dr. Koldewey cannot make the measurements of the historian fit the ruins which he has excavated. Moreover, he finds it difficult to accept the statement of Herodotus (I, 181) that "in the middle of the precinct there was a tower of solid masonry . . . upon which was raised a second tower, and on that a third, and so on up to eight," and he sees in his words nothing to justify the belief that each of the eight towers was smaller than the one below it. He desires to accept the general conception of stepped towers, but knows no safe ground for such a conception. The only remedy he can see for this difficulty is to excavate the best preserved ziggurat

¹ Described by Koldewey, *Die Hettitische Inschrift der Königsburg*, Leipzig, 1900.

which we possess, namely, that of Birs-i-Nimrûd, at Borsippa.

But before we reject the traditional belief that the great ziggurat of Bêl, or Bêl Marduk, was built in stages, we must take into consideration the evidence of a famous tablet, which supplies us with the dimensions of the stages of this ziggurat, and proves that in the third century before Christ the Babylonian scribes possessed definite and detailed information about the height and stages of the Tower of Babel. The existence of this tablet was first made known by George Smith, who, in a letter to the *Athenæum* (No. 2,520, February 12th, 1876, p. 232), says: "I have discovered a Babylonian text giving a remarkable account of the Temple of Belus at Babylon, and as my approaching departure for Nineveh does not allow me time to make a full translation of the document, I have prepared a short account for your readers, giving the principal points in the arrangement and dimensions of the buildings." Smith does not give the *provenance* of the tablet, and does not say where or in whose hands he discovered it, and nothing further was heard of it until it was offered to the Trustees of the British Museum at an extravagant price, and the offer was rejected. In 1912 M. Schlumberger informed Father Scheil that Madame Fennerly had in her possession a large Babylonian tablet, and when he examined it he discovered that it was the tablet which Smith had translated thirty-six years before. Madame Fennerly gave Father Scheil permission to copy the text and to publish it, and a reproduction of his copy, with transliteration and French translation, and a facsimile of the tablet are given in the "*Mémoires de l'Institut (Académie des Inscriptions)*".¹ The tablet is about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide, and is light yellow in colour; on the obverse are thirty-six lines of text divided into eight paragraphs, and on the reverse are eleven lines divided into three paragraphs, and the colophon and the date, *i.e.*, 26th day of the month

¹ Vol. xxxix, C. Klingsieck, Paris, 1914, "*Esagil ou le Temple de Bêl-Marduk à Babylone*," p. 293 ff.

Kislimmu (probably the 12th of December), in the 83rd year of Si-lu-ku 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 the king 𐎶𐎵, that is, the 83rd year of the Era of Seleucus,¹ answering to 229 B.C. It is now in the Louvre.

According to Smith, the great ziggurat or temple-tower, the temple of Belus, or the Tower of Babel,^a was built in stages, and its sides faced the cardinal points. The dimensions of the stages were:

1st Stage.—15 by 15 by $5\frac{1}{2}$ gar, or 300 feet square and 110 feet high.

2nd Stage.—13 by 13 by 3 gar, or 260 feet square and 60 feet high.

3rd Stage.—10 by 10 by 1 gar, or 200 feet square and 20 feet high.

4th Stage.— $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 1 gar, or 170 feet square and 20 feet high.

5th Stage.—7 by 7 by 1 gar, or 140 feet square and 20 feet high.

6th Stage.—[Omitted on tablet].

7th Stage (Temple of Bêl).—4 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ gar, or 80 feet long, 70 feet broad, and 50 feet high.

Assuming that the height of Stage 6 was the same as that of Stages 3, 4 and 5—*i.e.*, 1 gar or 20 feet—the total height of the Tower of Babel was 300 feet—*i.e.*, its height was equal to the length of one side of the lowest Stage.

These definite figures prove to me convincingly that the ziggurat of Bêl-Marduk was built in stages, and its bulk and height justify us in regarding it as the Tower *par excellence* of Babel. On the flat plain on which Babylon stood, the ziggurat of Bêl would be very prominent for many miles, and it is quite possible that the Chapel of Bêl was clearly visible to the dwellers on the banks of the Tigris, where Baghdâd now stands. The date of the

外匯、國庫券、公債、股票、保險、銀行

¹ Smith at one time thought that the Birs-i-Nimrūd was the Tower of Babel mentioned in Genesis, but his remarks in his letter (*Athenaeum*, February 12th, 1876, p. 233, col. 3) suggest that the new facts before him made him abandon that view.

overthrow of the ziggurat of Bêl-Marduk is not known, but its destruction is usually attributed to Xerxes (B.C. 485-465), and it was probably soon after this period that the name "Tower of Babel" was given to the Tower of Borsippa, or Birs-i-Nimrûd. And the ziggurat of Nâbu at Borsippa was, as already stated, built in stages, and there was probably close relationship between its dimensions and those of the great ziggurat at Babylon, which stood some eight or ten miles distant.

Smith warned his readers of the difficulty of finding exact equivalents for the old Babylonian measures,¹ and the dimensions which he gave were, of course, only approximate, but these have now been submitted to a very careful examination, and M. Marcel Dieulafoy has produced some very interesting results.² He agrees with Smith as to the measurements in gars, but instead of reckoning a gar as 20 feet, he reckons it as 11 feet, or 3.30 metres, and therefore reduces all Smith's figures by 45 per cent. He thus arrives at these results:—

Stage 1 was 49.50 metres square and 18.15 metres high.
 Stage 2 was 42.90 metres square and 9.90 metres high.
 Stage 3 was 33.00 metres square and 3.30 metres high.
 Stage 4 was 28.05 metres square and 3.30 metres high.
 Stage 5 was 23.10 metres square and 3.30 metres high.
 Stage 6 (Chapel of Bêl) was 13.20 metres long, 11.55 metres broad, and 8.25 metres high.

His 6th Stage answers to Smith's 7th. The tablet calls it the 7th Stage, but makes no mention of a 6th Stage, and he supposes that the scribe wrote 7 by mistake for 6, whereas Smith thought the scribe was right in

¹ "But there is another series of numbers used in measuring, consisting apparently of numbers of barleycorns arranged in sixties, thus the first number is a length of 11.33.20, which consists of $11 \times 3,600 + 33 \times 60 + 20$ barleycorns, in all 41,600 barleycorns, or 1,155 feet 7 inches."

² *Esagil ou le Temple de Bêl-Marduk. Étude arithmétique et architectonique du texte.* Published in *Mémoires de l'Institut, Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xxxix, p. 310 ff.

calling this stage the 7th, and had forgotten to put in the 6th.¹

These six (or seven) stages were regarded as forming the ziggurat proper, and were known collectively as the Nu-ḥar 𐎢𐎠𐎶. Another part of this group of buildings was known as the Ki-gal-lu 𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎵 of E-Temen-An-ki 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶. And according to M. Dieulafoy's interpretation of the tablet, the Nu-ḥar stood on the Ki-gal-lu, and the Ki-gal-lu stood on a plinth, and the plinth stood on a terrace. He reckons that the terrace was 384 metres square and 5·76 metres high, that the plinth was 192 metres square and also 5·76 metres high, and that the Ki-gal-lu was 99 metres square and 26·88 metres high.

M. Dieulafoy states his results with great precision, and embodies them in a plan and elevation drawn carefully to scale; but his reasoning does not always seem to be quite sound. Thus, for example, he says the Babylonians had two scales of measurement, which he denotes by x and x^1 and p and p^1 , and he gives the equation $x^1 = \frac{36}{35}x$ on page 342, and $p^1 = \frac{36}{35}p$ on page 352.

But when he gives his results in tabular form on pages 357 to 359, he makes p equivalent to metres 0·32, and p^1 to metres 0·33. Hence $p^1 = \frac{33}{32}p$ in place of $\frac{36}{35}p$.

These fractions cannot both be right, and possibly both are wrong.²

¹ This is not the only error in the tablet. Using the sexagesimal notation, it makes 10, 33, 20 \times 4, 30 = 47, 30, and 47, 30 \times 18 = 14, 15. But it makes 11, 33, 20 \times 9 = 1, 42, 30, and 1, 42, 30 \times 18 = 30, 45, whereas these quotients would come from 11, 23, 20, not from 11, 33, 20. The scribe has put a 30 for a 20.

² The tablet gives 15 gar by 15 gar as the length and breadth of the Nu-ḥar, and he interprets it (p. 335) as giving 10 gar by 10 gar as the length and breadth of the Ki-gal-lu. He sees that a building with an area of 15 \times 15 could not stand on a building with an area of only 10 \times 10, so he multiplies the 10 \times 10 by 3, and makes it 30 \times 30. He justifies himself for doing this (p. 341) by saying that the measurement is preceded by the word *salsāti*, and that this word means one-third, "un tiers." But the measurements of the Nuḥar are also preceded by the word *salsāti*, and by the same reasoning these also must be multiplied by three, 15 \times 15 being thus increased

The fact is that he cannot have approached the subject with an open mind. In his memoir on the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus and the Trophy of Augustus (near Monaco) he had published restorations of these structures; and he says here, page 371, " toutes les parties essentielles, tous les membres constitutifs du *Kigal* et du *Nuḥar* se retrouvent dans le Mausolée d'Halicarnasse et dans le Trophée d'Auguste et s'y retrouvent placés dans le même ordre, suivant la même disposition pyramidale et avec des affectations analogues." It was this preconceived opinion that impelled him to divide the *Kigal* into stages and place the *Nuḥar* on the top of it, when in reality the tablet says nothing of the kind.¹

But to return to Dr. Koldewey and his opinions. The bridge across the Euphrates was built by Nabopolassar, and was about 123 metres long; the piers (of which seven have been excavated) were 21 metres long and 9 metres wide.² They were built with a batter, and were 9 metres

to 45×45 ; and 45×45 cannot stand on 30×30 any better than 15×15 on 10×10 . The tablet shows clearly that the word means cube. In lines 8 and 9 it multiplies the length of a terrace by its breadth, and then multiplies this quotient ($47\frac{1}{2}$) by the height, and then in line 10 it says that the superficies is $47\frac{1}{2}$ and the *šalsāti* is . . . The final number has been lost, as the edge of the tablet has been chipped, but the *šalsāti* can hardly be anything except the cube. Even if it really means a third, he contradicts himself about its use, for he sometimes multiplies by 3, and sometimes by $\sqrt{3}$. He assures us that the Babylonians used $\sqrt{3}$, but did not know its value, and therefore put $\frac{12}{7}$ instead; and as this does not give him the result

he wants, he multiplies by $\frac{35}{36}$ to make it $\frac{5}{3}$.

¹ In lines 16 to 24 the tablet gives measurements in three different units, which it calls *suk-lum*, *rabi-lum* and *a-du-d*. One may dispute interminably about the equivalents of these units in metres or in feet, but it is indisputable that these measurements all refer to one and the same thing, the *Ki-gal-lu E-Temen-An-Ki*, and not three different things, as he assumes, viz., the *Kigal* proper, its platform and its plinth.

² Dr. Koldewey gives his measurements in metres, but they look as if they had been made in English feet, and put into metres afterwards. At any rate, it is a strange coincidence that so many of his measurements make integral numbers of English feet at 40 inches to the metre. Thus 3.3 metres are 11 feet, 7.8 metres are 26 feet, 9 metres are 30 feet, 12 metres are 40 feet, 21 metres are 70 feet, 52.5 metres are 175 feet, 85.8 metres are 286 feet, 89.4 metres are 298 feet.

apart; their sides are convex, and meet in a point facing the current, and at the tops they are slightly curved. The bridge was approached by the "Procession Street," which runs close to the south side of the temple area of the Tower of Babel. On either side of the Bridge Gateway, which was built by Nebuchadnezzar II, stretched the wall of Nabonidus (7'67 metres thick), with its broad and narrow towers arranged alternately at a distance of about 19 metres from each other.

The next important ruin lies under the mound of 'Amrân ibn 'Alî, at a depth of nearly 21 metres, and it represents E-Sagila, the great temple of Marduk. Here there are two buildings, the larger of which, the temple, is almost square, the northern front being nearly 70'3 metres long, and the western front having a length of about 85'8 metres. The great shrine of Marduk was on the western front, and that of Ea on the northern front. On the walls were groups of three towers, and in the middle of each side was a gateway with protecting towers. To the south of these ruins stands the tomb of 'Amrân ibn 'Alî, after whom the natives have named the mound. The eastern annex measures—north front, about 89'4 metres, east front about 116 metres. On the northern edge of the 'Amrân mound many remains of a later period are found, wooden and terra-cotta coffins, nude female figures made of bone, etc.

East of the mosque-tomb of 'Amrân ibn 'Alî are the ruins of the rectangular mud-brick temple, dedicated to an unknown deity, which Dr. Koldewey indicates by "Z." And east of this in the midst of the mass of ruins called "Ishîn Aswad" are the remains of the temple of Ninib, called "E-Patu-Tila," the oldest part of which dates from the time of Nabopolassar. North of the "Ishîn Aswad" is that part of the ruins of the great city which the natives call "Markaz," *i.e.*, Headquarters, or Seat of Government, or the official part of the city. Here are the remains of a vast number of houses, and the "finds" made in them are both interesting and important.¹

¹ The description of the "finds" fills fifty-six pages of Dr. Koldewey's book.

The graves supply much new information concerning funerary rites and customs.

Among the houses of the northern group at Markaz are the ruins of the Temple of Ishtar of Agade. A little to the north-east, and close to the western side of the inner city wall, are the mounds of Humrah, so called on account of their reddish colour; they are artificial heaps of broken burnt brick. The southernmost mound was used as the foundation for the auditorium of a theatre, and among the ruins of the building there was found a Greek inscription stating that "Dioscurides (built) the theatre and stage." The plan of the building on the whole represents, according to Dr. Koldewey, "a combination of a theatre and a *palæstra*." The building, as first constructed, may well date from the time of Alexander the Great. The northern mound of Humrah, which was at least sixteen metres high, was formed by a "colossal mass of rubbish," representing the ruins of E-Temen-An-Ki. A fragment of a cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar II, with an inscription referring to the repair of E-Temen-An-Ki, was found among the rubbish. Thus we may regard as true the statement of Strabo (XVI, i, 5), who says that the Tower of Babylon was in ruins in the time of Alexander the Great, and that having intended to rebuild the Tower, he expended 600,000 days' wages in removing the *débris*. In the central mound of Humrah Dr. Koldewey found what he thinks may well be the remains of the funeral pyre which Alexander the Great caused to be erected to solemnize the funeral ceremonies of Hephæstion. Alexander caused a portion of the city walls to be destroyed in order to obtain bricks to form the platform of the pyre, which is said to have cost 12,000 talents.¹

Dr. Koldewey has much to say about the city walls. But before summarizing his statements we may recall what ancient writers have said upon the subject. Herodotus (I, 178, 179) says that the city was square, measuring 120 stadia each way, and therefore measuring

¹ Diodorus xvii, 115, *cf.* Plutarch, *Alexander*, 72; Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii, 14.

480 stadia in circuit. Philostratus¹ and Orosius (II, 6) also say 480 stadia, and Pliny (VI, 26 (30)) and Solinus (60) say practically the same thing in making it 60 Roman miles. On the other hand, Philo² makes it 360 stadia. Diodorus (II, 7) says that Ctesias (who was a contemporary of Herodotus) made it 360 stadia, but that Cleitarchus (a contemporary of Alexander the Great) made it 365, reckoning as many stadia as days in the year. Curtius (V, i, 4) also says 365. Strabo (XVI, i, 5) says 385, but that is probably a mistake for 365. There are two ways of reconciling these discordant groups of measurements: (1) Herodotus deduces his measurement of the circuit from his measurement of a side, assuming the city to be square; but if the city was oblong (as the ruins suggest), it might have a side 120 stadia long, and yet be only 360 stadia in circuit. (2) The figures 360 and 480 may both be right, but may refer to different units of measurement, one such unit being three-quarters of the other; and the Greek writers may have said "stadia" for both these units, not knowing their true lengths. They often made mistakes of this sort. Thus Herodotus said (I, 178, 179) that these walls were 200 *cubits* high, and then Pliny (VI, 26 (30)) said 200 *feet*. Ctesias (Diodorus II, 7) made the height 50 *fathoms*, which answers to 200 cubits, and then Strabo (XVI, i, 5) and Curtius (V, i, 4) made it 50 *feet*. If Herodotus had his measurement in *plethra* of 100 feet instead of stadia of 100 fathoms, he would have made the circuit of the walls about 9 English miles instead of 54, and in that case he would not have been far wrong.

The city wall is too much ruined for any exact computation of its length and height, but its width may be determined. Herodotus says that it was 50 cubits wide, and on the top there was a covered shelter running along each side, and space enough for a four-horsed chariot to drive along between them. He says that his measurements were in "royal" cubits, and as these were just half a

¹ Vita Apollonii, i, 26.

² *De Septem Orbis Spectaculis*, 5.

metre, the width was 25 metres. Now, Dr. Koldewey has found two walls, 7 and 7·8 metres wide and 12 metres apart, giving a total width of 26·8 metres; and, as the 12 metre space was filled up with earth, that may represent the chariot-road, the 7 and 7·8 metre walls answering to the shelters on each side. But while Herodotus makes the width 50 *cubits*, and Orosius (*l.c.*) follows him in this, Pliny and Solinus (*ll.cc.*) make it 50 *feet*. Philostratus (*l.c.*) makes it a *plethron*, or 100 feet. Strabo and Curtius (*ll.cc.*) make it only 32 feet, but they may be speaking only of the chariot-road, as they go on to say that two four-horsed chariots could easily pass one another on the wall, a remark made also by Propertius (iii, II, 23, 24). Philo (*l.c.*) says four four-horsed chariots, and Diodorus (*l.c.*) says six, but Antipater of Sidon (52) follows Herodotus in saying one. If the 12 metre space really represents the chariot-road, the width (say 40 feet) was sufficient for two chariots to pass.

According to Dr. Koldewey, Babylon was protected by a massive wall of crude brick, 7 metres thick. In front of this, at an interval of 12 metres, stood another wall of burnt brick, 7·8 metres thick, with the strong wall of the fosse at its foot, also of burnt brick, and 3·3 metres thick. Astride on the mud wall were towers 8·37 metres wide, that projected beyond the wall on both its faces. From centre to centre these towers were 52·5 metres apart. The space between the two walls was filled in with rubble, presumably to the crown of the outer wall. Thus on the top of the wall there was a road that afforded space for a team of four horses abreast, and even for two such teams to pass each other. . . . The line of defence was very long. The north-east front, which can still be measured, is 4,400 metres long, and on the south-east the ruined wall can be traced without excavation for a length of 2,000 metres. These two flanks of the wall, together with the Euphrates, enclosed that part of Babylon of which the ruins exist at the present time. Ancient authors state that the part of Babylon which lay on the west bank of the Euphrates was also enclosed with walls, but of these nothing can now be seen. According to

Dr. Koldewey's measurement the circuit of the walls was about 18 kilometres, or say 10 miles, though Herodotus and Pliny both give measurements which make about 86 kilometres, and Ctesias about 65 kilometres. About fifteen towers on the mud wall were 44 metres apart. Provided that the wall around both parts of Babylon formed a square, there must have been 360 towers.

We may now turn to what Dr. Koldewey says about the great antiquity and general history of Babylon. Flint and other stone implements prove that Babylon existed between four and five thousand years before Christ, though the earliest accessible ruins belong to the time of Khammurabi, about B.C. 2000. These are found in the district of the city now known as "Markaz," together with houses of the time of the Kassite kings (B.C. 1400-1250). The strata above them show that the division of the city into streets and blocks of houses remained practically unchanged until the Græco-Parthian Period. The Assyrian kings repaired E-Sagila. Sargon built the wall of the Southern Citadel, and the rounded corner tower; Sennacherib paved the "Procession Street;" Esarhaddon laid down a pavement which is now under 'Amrân; Ashur-bani-pal also laid down a pavement in the same place, and restored Nimitti Bêl and E-Makh on the Kaşr (B.C. 721-626). The rebuilding of the whole city was begun by Nebuchadnezzar II (B.C. 605-558), who restored E-Makh, the Tower of Babylon, the Temple of Ninib, the temple "Z," and the Temple of Ishtar, and built the earliest stone bridge over the Euphrates at 'Amrân, etc. The great change which essentially altered the aspect of Babylon took place in the time of the Persian kings (B.C. 538-331). Until then the Euphrates had only washed the west side of the Kaşr, but from that time it flowed round the eastern side of it. The plan of the city, as described by Herodotus and Ctesias, dates from this period. Alexander the Great determined to rebuild the Tower of Babylon, the sanctuary of Bêl, and had the débris of the old building removed to the place now known as Humrah, but he died before he could carry

out his intention. The process of demolishing the city area began about B.C. 331, and continued until A.D. 636. From the latter date until the twelfth century the only part of the city which was inhabited was that part of it which is now called 'Amrân. After the foundation of the town of Hillah, on the left bank of the Euphrates, A.H. 495 = A.D. 1101-2, the great city of Babylon was left wholly desolate.

RETURN TO BAGHDÂD VIA ABÛ HABBÂH AND DÊR, BAGHDÂD TO LONDON.

THE next morning, February 23rd, at daybreak, we left the little house in which we had passed the night, and went to the mound of "Jumjumah" (so called because its shape is that of a skull), and examined that part of it which had been excavated by Mr. Rassam. Some of the villagers knew where the site was, and they conducted us to it without delay. We found men digging in all parts of it, not for bricks, as we expected, but for Babylonian tablets. We asked for the watchman, whom we naturally expected to find there, or in the neighbourhood, and there was none. The natives were astonished at the question, and told us that there never had been a watchman, or even a guard, and that every one of them had a right to dig anywhere in the ruins for dust for their fields, and bricks for their houses, provided that the Turkish Governor of Hillah did not prevent them. After a little more talk one of their number went and fetched a basket containing several contract tablets of the Persian and later periods, which were still nearly as wet as they were when they were taken out of the ground a night or two before. When asked why did they dig at night if they could dig by day unmolested, they said that at night-time they searched specially for "pillows," *i.e.*, tablets, because they were more valuable than bricks, and they would be taken from them by the officials from Hillah if it were reported that they had found any. They hid all the tablets which they found, and took them secretly into Baghdâd, where they sold them to the merchants who exported goods to England. They would be very glad if we would buy the tablets they had brought in the basket, and I bought them all at the rate of a few piastres each. Wherever we went in and about Jumjumah we heard the same story, and we saw in the possession of several natives

many tablets which had been mutilated by the tools of the diggers, and several were so much damaged that they were not worth buying.

We then devoted ourselves to sight-seeing for the greater part of the day, and walked over the ruins of Babylon. We examined the remains of the Kaşr, and saw the place where Beauchamp, about one hundred years ago, had discovered the remains of the substructure of the "Hanging Garden," and cleared away the rubbish from the basalt lion (see p. 286), and the place where Rich had made a small excavation, and the place which Mr. Rassam identified as the site of the famous hall where Belshazzar gave the feast mentioned in the Book of Daniel (v, 5). We walked over and about the mound called Bâbil, and found many traces which showed that the principal inhabitants of the caves and holes among the ruins of the great palace of Nebuchadnezzar II were foxes, jackals, wolves, scorpions, bats, owls, and other birds. Many were the trenches and tunnels which the seekers for bricks had made in the foundations, and it was plain that the trade in bricks was brisk and lucrative. We saw one party of men digging out bricks for M. Moujel, the French Engineer who was strengthening the Şadd, or Dam, along the Hindîyah Canal, and they were carrying away bricks literally by the hundred. Whilst the Turkish Government in Constantinople was hampering the work of European scholars who were trying to save the splendid ruins of ancient historic cities from destruction, its officials in Baghdâd and Hillah were blowing up the walls of the city and of the palaces of Babylon with dynamite, and selling the bricks for three to five piastres each, according to their size and state. From Bâbil we wandered eastwards, and saw the long low row of mounds which mark the site of an inner wall of Babylon, and then we came back and walked over it all again, just as Pietro della Valle had done nearly two hundred and seventy years before. Though the ruins must have been in a far more complete state in his day than they were in ours, he failed to frame in his mind an idea of what the ancient city was like, and we failed

also. The vast extent of the ruins was stupefying, and it was quite clear that nothing but the spade of the skilled excavator, and hundreds of diggers working for ten or twenty years, could lay bare the foundations of the Tower of Babel and the palaces round about it, and show what their plans were. It was hopeless to conjecture the size of the western part of the city across the Euphrates, or why such a mighty city was built on both sides of the river, or on that particular site. The city must have been founded as a trade centre, and for centuries its wealth must have been derived from trade. But what has become of the trade that enriched it? Alas, there is nothing to show. Whilst we were wandering about a native told us that the ruins had been visited the year before (1887) by a Nimsâwî (*i.e.*, German), who collected a number of "bits of stone" (*shiḥf*), and said that he was coming back to dig up Bâbil and the Kaṣr and 'Amrân. This must have been the forerunner of the party of Germans who, under Dr. Koldewey, have already excavated one-half of the ruins of Babylon. The native also told us that some very curious pieces of stone and earthenware could always be found after rain on the large mound lying about six miles to the east of Babylon. The natives call the mound "Uḥêmar," *i.e.*, the "little red [hill]," and it has always been supposed to stand on the site of Kish. But there were large sheets of flood water lying between it and Babylon, and it was impossible for us to go there.

We left Bâbil in the afternoon, and rode northwards towards Muḥawwal (Maḥawîl).¹ On both sides of the track—it cannot be called a road—as far as the eye could reach there were ruins of buildings, some of which must have been of considerable size. In fact, it seemed that the whole district between Muḥawwal and Bâbil must have been covered with small towns, or villages, which were built close up to the great walls of Babylon. If such towns or villages were built on all four sides of the city, it is quite easy to see why classical writers assign an

¹ I heard the name pronounced "Maḥawîl."

area to it which does not correspond with the area which was actually enclosed by the walls. We arrived before dark at Khân Muḥawwal, a building which was as large as Khân Iskandariyah, but in a very poor state of repair. It was, of course, built of bricks taken from the ruins of Babylon. The village of Muḥawwal, now nothing but a heap of ruins, lay some distance to the east.

The next morning, February 24th, we started betimes, and continued our journey northwards. We passed Naṣrīyah Khân, and soon afterwards crossed a large canal, and passing the mounds of Tuwêbah went on to Khân Haswah, which we reached at noon. The ground round about was covered with pebbles and débris of sandstone, hence the name "Haswah," *i.e.*, the "pebbly." The Khân was unusually dirty and uninviting, and we set out again as soon as possible. It was a blazing day, a hot wind from the south was blowing, the sky was the colour of dirty brass, the glare was blinding, and the atmosphere was all heat. We arrived at Maḥmûdiyyah, having left the main track to Baghdâd at Tall Agêlî, in the late afternoon, and were thankful to take shelter for the night in a small mud house. After supper many of the chief men of the district came in to pay their respects to Mr. Holland, and there was a good deal of very interesting talk. After much had been said by our visitors about the iniquities of the Turkish tax collectors, and many terrible instances of their alleged dishonesty and rapacity had been quoted, Mr. Holland worked round to the subject of the excavations which had been made at Abû Ḥabbah, the site which we proposed to examine on the following day. Abû Ḥabbah lies about one hour distant from the village of Maḥmûdiyyah, and marks the site of the ancient city of Sippar, near which the site of Agade, or Accad, will probably be discovered.¹ Excavations on a considerable scale had been carried out there for the Trustees of the British Museum by Mr. H. Rassam, and for many reasons I was anxious to make a careful examination of the site. Many of the natives of

¹ King, *Sumer and Accad*, p. 37.

Maḥmudīyah had been employed by Mr. Rassam, and they gave us much information about what had been done at Abû Habbah. The head men of the village told us that there had been some irregularity in Mr. Rassam's permit, and that he encountered much opposition in his work, and that he was eventually obliged to cease digging. The opposition came chiefly from the officials in and about Baghdād, who were employed in managing the Sultān's estates in the neighbourhood, and who claimed that Abû Habbah was His Majesty's private property. No such claim had been made before Mr. Rassam began to dig and discovered tablets there, and those in Baghdād who understood local interests better than I did, said that the dealers were at the bottom of the opposition, and that they wanted to exploit the site at their leisure, and for their own benefit; and, as a matter of fact, they were successful. Mr. Rassam was stopped digging before he had cleared out one-third of the site, and the Director of Crown Lands is said to have seized a large number of objects, which he sold to the dealers. From the time when work for the Museum was stopped to the day of my visit to Maḥmūdīyah, the dealers had secretly conducted excavations at Abû Habbah, and regularly exported the results to London.

On Sunday, February 25th, we started at daybreak for Abû Habbah. We crossed a small canal, and after a short but unpleasant ride over swampy ground we arrived at the ruins of the wall which surrounded the ancient city on three sides, north, south, and east. A little to the north-west flowed the canal called Yûsufīyah, or Nahr Malkâ, and on the western side was a smaller canal; beyond this, to the west, lay marshy ground which extended to the Euphrates. The mounds at Abû Habbah were four in number, three large and one small, the last-named probably containing the ruins of the great gate of the city, which was on the eastern side. The largest mound probably contained the remains of a ziggurat. The length of the area enclosed by the walls was about one mile, and its width was half a mile. No part of any of the four mounds had been completely

excavated. In many places in all the mounds shafts had been sunk and tunnels driven, for Mr. Rassam wanted to find antiquities, and to find them as quickly and as easily as possible. The more important antiquities were found in one mound, where the Government buildings seem to have stood, and the great mass of unbaked tablets, some forty or fifty thousand in number, was found in another. One mound seems to contain the ruins of the bazâr or market, for in it were ruins of hundreds of small chambers, and in all of them unbaked tablets were found, chiefly of the time of Nabonidus (B.C. 556-538) and the later kings. The natives heated hundreds of these in the fire in order to harden them, but the result was that the hardened surface separated itself from the body of the tablet, and broke into pieces. In this way a large number of tablets were destroyed. The massive brick walls and pavements of brick which could be seen when I was at Abû Habbah, convinced me that the ancient city must have been well defended with strong walls, and that it was a place of very considerable importance long before the time of Nebuchadnezzar II. And I believe that if the ruins were carefully excavated objects of great historic value would be found in them.

Having completed the examination of the site, I asked for the watchman who was paid to protect the portions which had been excavated for the Trustees. After a time an individual appeared who said that he was the watchmen, but that he had ceased to watch because the people in Baghdâd, who were said to have been appointed to safeguard the Trustees' interests, had paid him no wages for two years. When asked how he gained a living, he said that he collected the "antîkât" (antiquities) which the natives were always digging up in the mounds, and carried them into Baghdâd, and sold them to the dealers. His chief customers were his two brothers, and they found means of exporting them with their merchandise. When asked how he managed to cross the bridge of boats into Baghdâd without exciting the suspicions of the officials of the *gumruk* (Customs House), he said that when going into Baghdâd he always

wore a long, full cloak which reached to his feet. Inside this cloak were sewn several rows of small pockets, each of which was large enough to hold a tablet; in this way he took with him over a hundred tablets each time he entered Baghdâd. Objects larger than tablets were taken into the city by friends of his who were attached to the caravans that traded between Hillah and Baghdâd, and sometimes by Persian friends of his, who made a living by carrying the bodies of the dead from the Persian frontier to Karbalâ, to be buried in the ground sanctified by the bodies of the martyrs, Ḥasan and Ḥusên. These and many other things he told us with interesting frankness, and it was quite clear that the man thoroughly enjoyed outwitting Turkish officials. He had been caught smuggling ordinary goods into Baghdâd on two or three occasions, and he had been imprisoned and fined, but these little incidents only sharpened his wits, and made him more cunning. He was a capable man, with quick intelligence, and if the Turkish authorities had been wise they would have made him a Government official. I employed him in various ways in 1889 and 1891, and he served me honestly and faithfully, and we parted, I like to think, with mutual regrets.

As an instance of his ready wit in times of difficulty, the following may be recorded. On one occasion he was employed by the Government to bring bricks into Baghdâd from Babylon. Thinking the opportunity too good to be lost he filled several boxes with tablets at Jumjumah, and donkeys brought them to the bridge of boats at Baghdâd, with the camels loaded with bricks. Here he went into a friend's house, put on his large cloak, having carefully filled its pockets with tablets, and set out to cross the bridge. As he stepped off the bridge on the Baghdâd side and was passing the officials, a passer-by jostled him, and a tablet fell from the cloak on the ground. Seeing this a Customs' officer seized him and shook him, and tablets fell from him in all directions. His turban also rolled off, and tablets fell from it. He was then taken into the guard-house of the bridge and searched, and over one hundred tablets were found in

his cloak. They next stripped him, and a string of cylinder seals was found tied round his waist, and a little bag containing old Arab gold coins. He was then formally arrested and locked up in the guard-house for the night. The boxes on the donkeys which were with him were opened, and were found to be full of tablets. These were at once taken possession of by the police. The following morning he was brought before an official, who asked him where he got the tablets, and where and to whom he was taking them; but he refused to answer any questions. In the afternoon he was taken and charged before another and a higher official, who, finding that he would not answer his questions, ordered him to be beaten. At the first stroke of the stick the man said he would answer all questions, and then said the tablets were not his, but that he was taking them into Baghdâd for a friend at Hillah, who had asked him to deliver them to a merchant in the city. When asked the names of these men he gave the names of two fictitious individuals, and the officer ordered both to be arrested. Meanwhile the case was remanded, and the accused was sent to prison until the men whose names he had given could be found. When this was discovered to be impossible, as they did not exist, the accused was brought into court, with the tablets and the cylinder-seals,¹ but the gold coins had disappeared, for the accused had given them to the police officer who first examined him. The case was quite clear. The accused had been caught red-handed smuggling tablets into Baghdâd, and dealing in antiquities was illegal; it only remained to punish the accused and confiscate the tablets. At this point the accused told the judge that he could not punish him for dealing in antiquities, because the tablets were "new," i.e., forgeries made by the Jews at Kâzimên, and the police officer who had received the gold coins as *bakhshîsh* testified that there

¹ The cylinder-seal was made of hard stone and was engraved with the owner's name; the name of a contracting party or witness was added to a tablet by rolling the cylinder-seal over it when the clay was moist.

were many forged tablets in the bazâr. The judge's secretary suggested that two dealers, whose names he gave, should be summoned to advise them, and the case was postponed until they arrived. When the dealers came they looked at the tablets which had been taken from the cloak of the accused, and swore they were "new," and as for the other tablets and the cylinder-seals, they were "no good." As a matter of fact, the really valuable things were the tablets which the donkey carried in boxes, but they were covered with the clay in which they had been found, and looked like dry clods of earth. The judge was very angry at the time of the court being wasted, and got up and went out, saying that he had urgent business in another court, and his secretary was left to dispose of the case. This he did by setting free the accused, who left the court with enhanced reputation, and still in possession of the tablets. Subsequently I learned that the accused had planned the whole thing very carefully. The tablets in his cloak were "new," and many of the cylinder-seals were "new," and the gold coins were provided for *bakhshîsh*, for he had been warned that an enemy had betrayed him, and that he would be jostled and stopped and searched. The judge's secretary, who had suggested the summoning of the dealers to give expert evidence, was a kinsman of the accused, and also of the dealers. The end of the matter was that the whole collection was shown to me, and I bought all the tablets in the boxes and all the genuine cylinder-seals, and they are among the finest of their kind now in the British Museum; and it was said that the accused and the secretary and the dealers shared the purchase money!

Whilst we were eating at Abû Habbah another native joined us, and introduced himself as the cousin of the smuggler of tablets referred to above. He assumed that we intended to ride on to Dêr, and said he would go there with us because a friend of his was there waiting for us. This friend had with him specimens of the tablets which he had found at Dêr, and he wanted us to see them. We crossed the Nahr Malkâ, and, riding in a north-easterly direction, reached Dêr in about an hour and a half.

The ruins stand on rising ground, which does not seem to be subject to inundation in the winter. The area enclosed by the walls was nearly a square of half a mile each way, flattened at the north-west corner, and the ancient town had four gates. The largest of the mounds stands in the south-east corner. The native who had come with us found his friend awaiting him, and he produced the tablets which he alleged he had found in the side of the mound in a place which he showed us. The tablets were "case-tablets" (*i.e.*, tablets enclosed in a clay envelope, on which the text of the contract and the names of the witnesses and impressions of their seals are repeated), and it was quite clear that they were genuine, and that they dated from about B.C. 2000. The tops of the massive brick walls which projected here and there suggested buildings of great strength, and the ruins of the walls seemed to indicate that the city which was protected by them was both ancient and important. The ancient name of the city is, I believe, unknown. Its present name, "Dêr," tells us nothing, but suggests that at some time or other there must have stood here either a church or a monastery, for, as Yâkût says (ii, 639), "Dêr" is a name given to the dwelling-place of a Christian community, or to a place where there is a church.¹ It is quite possible that a monastery was built here during the earlier centuries of the Christian Era.

Having examined the site, I made a plan of it as well as I could, and, seeing that the larger mound was one which might be completely excavated in three or four months, I determined to suggest its excavation to the Trustees. Leaving the mound of Dêr we passed through the gap in the ruins of the walls where the north gate had stood, and rode a little to the north-west, and came to the ruins of a wall which Felix Jones believed to be the famous Median Wall. At somewhat irregular intervals were

¹ Abû 'l-Fidâ (*Takwīm al-Buldān*, pp. 295, 315) mentions Dêr al-'Akûl, which was near Baghdād, and was ten parasangs from Al-Madāin, but it is unsafe to identify it with Dêr. Ibn al-Athīr (ii, 394) mentions a town called Dêr with Kûthā, but here again the identification is uncertain.

mounds that mark the positions of the towers on the wall, which must have been of considerable extent at their bases, and it seemed as if the mounds at the angles of the wall might repay excavating. We then turned our faces towards Baghdād, and after two hours reached the Khur. We left the horses there, and walked to the river, and were ferried across in a *ḡuffah* which awaited us. I could not help feeling that our visit to Babylon and the sites where the Trustees had made excavations was likely to have far-reaching results; and its success was due entirely to Mr. Holland. Horses and guides had appeared at the right moment in places where we needed them, and, owing to his tact and skill in the language, I obtained the information which I was sent out to acquire. I had found out the sources whence the dealers in Baghdād obtained the tablets they sold, and had gained a fairly good idea of the extent of the trade which they carried on, and had seen how the men who were paid by the Trustees to safeguard the interests of the British Museum used their positions to protect their own personal trading concerns. In short, I had found the leak which Rawlinson told me to find, but it was by no means clear to me that we had the means of stopping it. There was one aspect of the illicit trading in tablets which was saddening to consider. I mean the destruction of large numbers of tablets by the diggers and the dealers. The diggers, when working by day, broke the tablets and cut them in pieces with their spades, and if they did this by day, it stood to reason that they would destroy many more when digging secretly at night. The dealers, too, were reckless in the means they employed in exporting their collections. One dealer filled several boxes with tablets, and sent them by caravan to Damascus, for exportation from Bêrût. The caravan took four or five weeks to reach Damascus, and when the boxes were opened it was found that owing to insufficient packing every tablet had been smashed to pieces, and many of the boxes contained nothing but dust. Another dealer put a collection of tablets into boxes, which he placed in bales of wool which were being packed for exportation; when the bales were put in the

wool-press, and the machine was worked, all the boxes were crushed, and the tablets were reduced to powder. The only way to preserve the tablets was to buy them, and get them out of Baghdâd to England, where they would be taken care of. The Turkish officials understood the fragile nature of tablets as little as did the dealers, for most of the tablets which they had confiscated and sent to the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople arrived there smashed.

During the remainder of my stay in Baghdâd in 1888 I enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. George Clarke. I wrote out the notes which I had made on my journey to Babylon and back, and from them I compiled an account of all that I had seen and heard concerning the Trustees' excavations, and sent it home to the Principal Librarian. I then bought the tablets which I had reason to believe came from Dêr, namely, a small collection of very fine and perfect case-tablets, which dated from about B.C. 2000. These I packed up carefully in small, stout wooden boxes with jute, and found a means of despatching them to Baṣrah. All the members of the European community in Baghdâd were most kind and helpful, and but for their practical sympathy my Mission must have proved a failure. They meant me to do what I went to Baghdâd to do, and they took care that I succeeded. When we talked matters over they told me frankly that the Baghdâd Government was not in a good temper over the dealing in antiquities which they were certain was going on, and that rumours of my impending arrest were abroad. Captain Butterworth arrived in his ship the "Comet" the day after I returned from Babylon, and some of his crew told their friends in confidence how many boxes of tablets which he took to Baṣrah for me had been passed on to the British-India Mail Steamer as Ayûb Khân's personal baggage, and the incident became known in Baghdâd. The story was much "tasted" in the bazârs, and even the Turkish officials enjoyed it. It soon reached the ears of the authorities, and they promptly sent for the dealers who had sold me the tablets, and charged them with breaking the law forbidding the dealing in antiquities,



The Mosque and Tombs of the Imáms Músa and Táki at Kázimén.

and threatened them with legal proceedings. The dealers admitted that they and other dealers had sold me tablets, but swore that they were still in Baghdâd, and stored in a house near the river, and that I was going to take them all with me when I left by the next steamer. They asked that the steamer might be watched, and my baggage examined by the Customs' officers when I went on board, and renewed their promise to the authorities to buy from them all the tablets which they found in my baggage.

Meanwhile I had a few days to wait for the departure of the steamer, and I employed these in going about Baghdâd and visiting the walls and the remains of many of the old buildings already enumerated (see pp. 194-5). One morning Captain Butterworth said that he had business which would take him a few miles up the river, and suggested that I should go with him, and visit the famous Shi'ah sanctuary of Kâzimên on the way. When Colonel Tweedie heard of our proposed expedition he kindly offered to send word of our coming to a friend of his, the Sayyid Muḥammad Husên Mirza Safawî, a Persian Prince, who lived in Kâzimên, near the great mosque, and we accepted his offer gratefully. We crossed the river to the suburb Mahalî, and then took the tramway, which had been laid down in the time of Midhat Pâshâ, as far as it went. We found our way without difficulty to the town of Kâzam,¹ and were met by the Persian Prince, Colonel

¹ The town of Kâzam is famous all over the Shi'ite East because it contains the tombs of the Kâzimên, i.e., the "two patient ones," namely Mûsa, the seventh Shi'ite Imâm, and Tâkî, the son of 'Alî Ridha, and grandson of Mûsa, the ninth Shi'ite Imâm. Mûsa was the great-great-grandson of Husên, the second son of 'Alî, the son-in-law of Muḥammad, the Prophet. He was brought here from Madînah by the Khalîfah Hârûn ar-Rashîd, who had him poisoned by his Wazîr Ibn Khâlid. He was famous for his generosity; he died A.H. 153. Tâkî married the daughter of the Khalîfah Mamûn, and went with him to Baghdâd, where he was poisoned in the 25th year of his age. The mosque containing their tombs is a large building, which stands in a spacious court surrounded by a high wall. Its most striking features are the two great kubbaks or domes which crown it, and are covered over with one complete surface of gold; these were last gilded by

Tweedie's friend. He walked with us through the bazâr, and many were the curses which the people gathered together there hurled at us as we passed the little shops. We stopped at two or three, as we wished to buy a few mementos of our visit, but in each case the owner, who was sitting cross-legged smoking, got up and swept the things off the board into a box, and scowled at us and cursed us. In one shop I saw a glass case containing some forged cylinder-seals, which I had heard were made by the Jews in Kâzam, but the owner's rage when we wanted to look at them was so violent that our Persian guide hurried us away. We came to the great gate of the courtyard of the mosque, and, walking past it very slowly, taking care not to stand still, we had a good view of the interior. The walls of the mosque itself were covered with the most gorgeously coloured tiles I ever saw, and their brilliant colouring was in keeping with the splendidly carved stonework, and the great golden domes over the centre of the mosque. The minarets, too, were beautifully decorated with coloured glazed tiles, arranged in bold patterns, and formed with the great domes a very stately pile. It was useless even to guess at measurements, for had we shown any signs of making notes, or drawing, or measuring any part of the building, there would have been trouble. We obtained a good view of the clock, of which many amusing stories are told.¹

Nadîr Shâh in the eighteenth century. Around these are four lofty minarets; one of these rises above the gallery, and the other three terminate on the level of the gallery. The whole, Buckingham rightly says, forms "a group of imposing splendour." For other descriptions see Buckingham, *Travels*, ii, 232; Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii, 280 (he spells it Kazimun); Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, ii, 303; Felix Jones, *Survey*, p. 221.

¹ On one occasion the clock stopped and could not be made to work, in spite of all the efforts which were made by native clock-makers far and near to set it right. There happened to be in Baghdâd a good French mechanic who understood clocks, and who offered to make the clock to go, but the custodians of the mosque dared not accept his services because he was a Christian, and no Christian may enter the mosque. At length someone versed in tradition remembered that Muḥammad once sent a donkey loaded with bricks into a mosque,

We then went to the house of Prince Mirza Safawī. He gave us coffee, and then took us up to the roof, from which we obtained a very fine view of the courtyard of the mosque and the front of the building. He also told us about a famous curtain in the mosque, which was studded all over with precious stones of large size, and his words reminded us of the descriptions of the heaps of jewels which are said to exist in enchanted caves in the Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night.

When we left his house he suggested that we should pay a visit to the tomb of the Nawâb of Oude (see p. 230), who was exiled to Baghdâd, and had died recently. We went, and, according to etiquette, asked to see his Excellency, who is supposed not to be dead. We were received very kindly by the attendants, who took off our shoes, and seated us upon dîwâns, and brought us coffee and sweets made of rose leaves. At a signal made by our guide we rose, and were conducted into the chamber containing the tomb, and stood in silence for a short time, during which we were supposed to be praying that Allah's mercy might be shown to the deceased. On each corner of the massive tomb a solemn-faced mullah was sitting cross-legged, reciting passages from the *Kur'ân*. We walked round the tomb, and, having stood silent for a few minutes, returned to the chamber in which we had drunk coffee. We sat there for a short time listening to the custodian of the tomb, who assured us that he regretted that His Excellency was so much occupied with affairs that day that he could not do himself the honour of receiving us personally. When we had drunk more coffee, and our shoes had been replaced by the servants, our guide said words proper to the occasion, and we made suitable acknowledgments to the attendants, and then

and this man suggested that as a Christian was to all intents and purposes a donkey he might be allowed to go into the mosque and set the clock going. The Frenchman's offer was then accepted, and he went and mended the clock, but our Persian guide told us that no Franji had ever been in the mosque. The same story is told of other clocks in other Muslim towns; see Twain, *Innocents Abroad*, chap. ix.

departed. Captain Butterworth asked our guide when we were in the street again if he believed in all this "make believe," and with most serious words and gestures he said that he did. He went on to say that Allah granted every petition made in that tomb, and that the friends and dependants of His Excellency frequently came there and sought his help in making their petitions to Allah. He knew of many cases in which men's petitions had been literally fulfilled, and that, whether visible or invisible, His Excellency was ever present in the house which we had just left, and was ready to help those who came to him. Finally, he said that he was sure we should receive a blessing from our visit to the Nawâb's tomb that day. To me this view seemed beyond the range of all discussion, for the Oriental regards such matters from a standpoint quite different from that of the European.

Meanwhile our prolonged visit did not please some of the people of Kâzam, and as we walked back through the bazâr we were followed by a crowd which grew larger and larger, and it was quite clear from their remarks that they did not like us. Fortunately, Captain Butterworth had arranged to have a *ḡuffah* waiting for us by the river bank, and I was glad to see that his sailors had seen him, and were making signs to him to come to them. We took leave of our courteous guide, whose perfect knowledge of English added to the enjoyment of our strange visit, and just after he left us the people began to throw stones at us. We hurried to the *ḡuffah*, and pushed out into the stream without delay. What views the men of Kâzam may hold now about Europeans I cannot say, but in 1888 they hated the very sight of them.

Another day we rode out to see the ruin called 'Aḡar-Kûf, which lies about ten miles to the north-west of Baghdâd. The mass of brickwork, which is probably the core of a ziggurat or step-pyramid, is about 120 feet high and 100 feet wide, and the circumference at the base is between 270 and 280 feet; it stands on a low mound, which is probably the remains of the base or first step of the edifice. There were several low mounds lying round about, and these naturally suggested that this great mass



The remains of the ziggurat of Dūr Kurigalzu at 'Akar Kūf near Baghdad.

of brickwork formed part of a large group of buildings. The bricks in the lowest part were about 1 foot square and 3 inches thick, whilst those in the upper part seemed to be nearly 2 feet in length. Between every five or six layers of bricks was a layer of reeds, about 1½ inches thick. 'Aḳar-Kūf is now thought to mark the site of a town built by the Kassite King Kurigalzu in the thirteenth century B.C., and called "Dūr Kurigalzu." The ruin has been often measured and described,¹ but its actual history can only be obtained by systematic excavation. A common native name for it is "Tall Nimrūd," or the "Hill of Nimrod," which has caused many travellers to confuse it with Birs-i-Nimrūd, and so with the Tower of Babel; but the mistake is obvious when we remember that the Tower of Babel stood near the Euphrates, while 'Aḳar-Kūf is no great distance from the Tigris.

On the morning of the day before my departure from Baghdād I received a visit from a friendly Turkish official, who told me that the authorities had received full information about my doings in Baghdād. Through the zeal and energy of the Government delegate, who was appointed to safeguard the interests of the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople, they had obtained a list of the names of the dealers who had sold me tablets, and there was no doubt that I had bought tablets and taken them into my possession. They had also discovered that I had sent away tablets in the "Comet" when she went to Baṣrah, and had telegraphed to the Mudīr of Customs there to stop them; unfortunately, he added, with a smile, we were too late. He then went on to say that it was equally well known that I had bought tablets during my journey to and from Hillah, and that the Government had decided to confiscate them when I took them on board the steamer that evening. He produced a copy of the telegram which he had been instructed to send to the Wālī, or Governor of Baghdād, who was

¹ See Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, ii, 305; Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii, 74 (with drawings); Buckingham, *Travels*, ii, 217, etc.

then in Sulimâniyah, in which his authority for my immediate arrest was asked for by his Wakîl (deputy) in Baghdád. I asked what they would do with me if they arrested me, and he said I should be lodged in the Sarâyah in comfortable quarters, that I could provide my own food and see my friends, but that my stay might be prolonged, and that I should find it an expensive matter to get out. I then asked him how long it would take to get an answer by telegram from the Wâli, and he said a few hours only. But, he added, telegrams are sometimes delayed for days at a time when storms blow down the telegraph posts. I told him that I much wished to leave Baghdád the following morning at daybreak, and hoped that the telegram in his hands might be delayed at all events for a day. He said that he had no wish for such a telegram to reach His Excellency on the following day (Friday), which was the weekly rest-day of the Muslims, because it was the day for prayer in the mosque, and that it would be better for his peace of mind if he received it on Saturday, or even Sunday. On the other hand, he added, Saturday is the Sabbath of the Jews, and Sunday is the rest-day of the Christians, so it would be better for His Excellency to receive the telegram on the Monday; there are both Jews and Christians in the telegraph service, and they do not like working on their rest-days. We then talked of other matters, and whilst he was drinking coffee, which had meanwhile been sent in by my most kind hostess, Mrs. George Clarke, and smoking a cigarette, he asked me if I could manage to arrange a small matter of business for him with his brother in Bombay, and to deliver to him a parcel containing certain (to him) most important papers. This I gladly undertook to do, especially as he promised that his brother should meet me on the British-India mail steamer when we arrived. He then left me with the telegram, saying, as we parted, "Allah Karîm" (God is merciful!).

The day wore on and I heard nothing more of the telegram asking for authority for my arrest, and when the evening came I went with my baggage to the river steamer which was tied up at the wharf. My host and

hostess were on the wharf, and the gathering of people was so great that it seemed to me as if half Baghdâd had come to see me off. As soon as I walked along the gangway to the steamer I saw on the broad deck aft, by the great winch, a body of Custom House officials and police, and the Mudîr of Customs himself was present. When my bullock trunks came aboard I told the sailors to take them to my cabin, but the Mudîr stepped forward and ordered them to set them down in a place which he pointed out to them. I had with me also a bundle of rugs and native bedding, a box of dates, and some smaller gear, and all these were placed with the bullock trunks. Then I was called upon to produce my keys, and the Mudîr and his men began an examination of my belongings. Every article was taken out and laid on the deck, and, if possible, turned inside out. The bottles of the medicine case were taken out one by one, looked at, and their contents sniffed, and even the pockets in my clothes were turned inside out. They unrolled my rugs, ripped open the bed, and nothing contraband could have escaped their notice. During this process a friend of mine took my great-coat, the pockets of which were stuffed with some of the tablets which I had bought at the last moment, and carried it to my cabin without any opposition. When the Mudîr found no tablets in my baggage he asked his men in Turkish (which a friend interpreted for me) what I had done with the thousands (*sic*) of pounds' worth of tablets which I had bought. The men told him to ask so-and-so, mentioning a certain dealer's name, and muttering angry words he turned and left the boat, presumably to question the dealer before the steamer left for Baṣrah at daybreak. As I looked round I saw relief in some faces and gladness in all the rest, for the Mudîr and his officials were not popular in Baghdâd. Thanks to my kind friends in Baghdâd I had succeeded in outwitting the Turk, and in saving for scientific investigation some thousands of valuable tablets.

We left Baghdâd next morning at daybreak, and had a most successful voyage to Baṣrah, which we reached in the early afternoon of Sunday, and in the evening I

had the pleasure of meeting several of the members of the European community, and hearing the latest news of all kinds. One item of intelligence was of special interest. Several telegrams for London and Liverpool had been received, with special instructions that they were to be transmitted to England by submarine cable viâ Fâw and Bombay. When enquiries were made into the reason for this proceeding, it was found that the main telegraph line from Baghdād to Constantinople had been blocked since the Thursday evening of the past week, the day on which the telegraph official in Baghdād discussed my probable arrest with me. A caravan had started from Baghdād in the afternoon for Damascus, and, as was usual, most of the camels were roped together, tail to head. The caravan track ran parallel with the overland telegraph from Baghdād for several miles, and when the camels had been marching for about two hours something happened which frightened them, and threw them into confusion. One of the strings of camels bolted towards the telegraph line, and they became mixed up among the posts, and several of these broke off short, and the wires fell on the camels. This frightened the camels still more, and they stampeded and knocked down many more posts, and before they could be stopped more than a mile of the telegraph line was wrecked. Thus the Wālî could not receive the telegram from Baghdād asking him to order my arrest.

The next four days I spent with Mr. Robertson, the British Consul, whom I have already mentioned. With him I explored Baṣrah, and went out to what is commonly called "Old Baṣrah," which lies about nine miles to the south-west of the modern town. It was here that the victorious soldiers of Muḥammad the Prophet founded the city which played such a prominent part in the final conquest of the tribes at the head of the Persian Gulf. Mr. Robertson took me to Kūrnah, an interesting town at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, about forty miles above Baṣrah, and the site of an important mediæval Customs House. From there, as the river was favourable, we went to Sûḵ ash-Shuyûkh, where he put me in



Bridge over the Kárún River, built by the Emperor Valerian.

touch with natives who arranged to send me tablets found in their neighbourhood. We also went up the Kârûn beyond Muḥammadarah, to a point from which he told me we could see Shûsh (Shushan the Fortress) through his powerful glasses. Mr. Robertson possessed a great knowledge of the history of the country, and talked Persian and Arabic with elegance and facility. He was sympathetic in all his dealings with the natives, and they respected his justice and integrity, and made him the final arbiter of many of their personal affairs. He died in a few hours through an attack of cholera, and was sincerely mourned throughout the town.

I left Baṣrah in the British-India steamer "Satara" (Captain Tice), which, after discharging some cargo at Muḥammadarah, sailed direct for Bushire. On our arrival, Captain Butterworth came aboard, and told me that the British Resident, Colonel E. C. Ross, had sent him to bring me and my kit to the Residency to stay for a couple of days. He wished to discuss excavations at Baḥrân, and he had arranged to have me taken to a place some distance from the town, where bricks with cuneiform inscriptions on their edges had been discovered. We went ashore without delay, and I was soon afterwards welcomed by Colonel Ross, to whom I presented Rawlinson's letter of introduction. Fellow guests in the Residency were Colonel Mockler, the Resident at Muscat, and his wife, who was a daughter of Colonel Ross. On Sunday, March 11th, Captain Butterworth and I drove out to see the antiquities at Samsâbâd. There were several low mounds containing the ruins of buildings which must have been of considerable size and solidity, and large numbers of inscribed bricks had been found in them. We learned that Herr Andrae, a young German, had been there in 1887, and made some excavations, and that he had packed up about 200 cases of antiquities for despatch to Germany, but some hitch had taken place in the negotiations with the Shah's Government, and the cases were still in the country. We then called on Mr. C. J. Malcolm, on whose property the antiquities had been found, and he welcomed us most kindly, and offered to

afford every facility if the British Museum would excavate the whole site. He gave me for the Museum a small Parthian stone coffin, containing burnt human remains, which I packed up and duly brought home.¹ When we returned to Bushire we went and examined some antiquities in the possession of Captain Jones, Commander of H.M.I.M.S. "Lawrence." The country round about Bushire was very beautiful in its spring dress, and the cornfields were of a brilliant emerald-green, with many-coloured wild flowers growing in them. Before I left Bushire Colonel Ross had a long talk with me about making excavations in Bahrên, and was very anxious to have work begun. He gave me a letter on the subject, which I delivered to the proper authorities. My visit to him I greatly enjoyed, and shall never forget. He was a man of the Rawlinson type, and was rightly called the "Father of the Persian Gulf."

We left Bushire on Sunday evening, and steamed at the "economical speed" of eight knots all the way to Karachi, calling at many ports on the passage. We stayed at Karachi for several hours, and the captain and I went up into the town and witnessed some very remarkable feats of hypnotism performed by natives. We also drove out to the prison to see the carpets, rugs, etc., made by the convicts. We arrived at Bombay on March 23rd at daylight, and very soon afterwards the brother of the telegraph official at Baghdâd, who had befriended me so opportunely, made his appearance, and I delivered to him the parcel of important papers. He expressed his thanks with such warmth and feeling that I was sure I had done him useful service. Having secured my passage in the P. & O. steamer "Bengal" (Captain Andrews), I had several hours free to devote to sight-seeing in Bombay. We left Bombay at five o'clock that evening, and arrived at Suez a little after midnight on April 2nd, and I reached Cairo the same night.

I spent the following day in taking several cases containing coffins to the Bûlâk Museum, to get them

¹ No. 91,933 (*Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, p. 117).



Green basalt portrait figure of a king of the XIIIth dynasty.
Brit. Mus., No. 18193.

officially passed and sealed for export. The officials of the Museum claimed the right to examine every object intended for exportation, and to give this claim effect they opened every case submitted for sealing. In the process of breaking cases open they often split the wood so badly that new cases had to be provided, of course at the expense of the exporter. They also claimed the right to seize without payment any object, the acquisition of which they considered desirable for the National Collection. Many visitors to Egypt purchased valuable objects and submitted them for examination in order to obtain permission to take them out of Egypt, and then were deprived of their possessions under this claim; and when they asked the officials to pay them at least what they themselves had paid for the things they were told to apply to the dealers who had sold them to them. Under such conditions no purchaser of a valuable object would run the risk of having it confiscated by the officials of the Bûlâk Museum. Had the claims of Bûlâk been exercised without fear or favour they would have been bad enough, but the manner of exercising them which was in vogue in 1888 made them intolerable. Native Consuls of European Powers got their cases passed without being opened, and their declarations of value were accepted without a word, for Bûlâk was afraid to stir up trouble with them. Similarly certain antiquity dealers in Cairo, who were wise in their generation, made private arrangements, and every case they presented for export was passed and sealed unopened, and their declarations of values were accepted implicitly. I therefore did what every collector for a European Museum did in Egypt. I took to Bûlâk coffins and other large objects, which I knew the authorities could not possibly want, and dispensed with their permission to take out of the country the smaller and more precious objects which were greatly needed to increase existing groups or to fill up gaps in the collections in the British Museum. Had I acted otherwise, and had these smaller objects been claimed for the Bûlâk Collection, there was no certainty that they would have remained there. The administration was

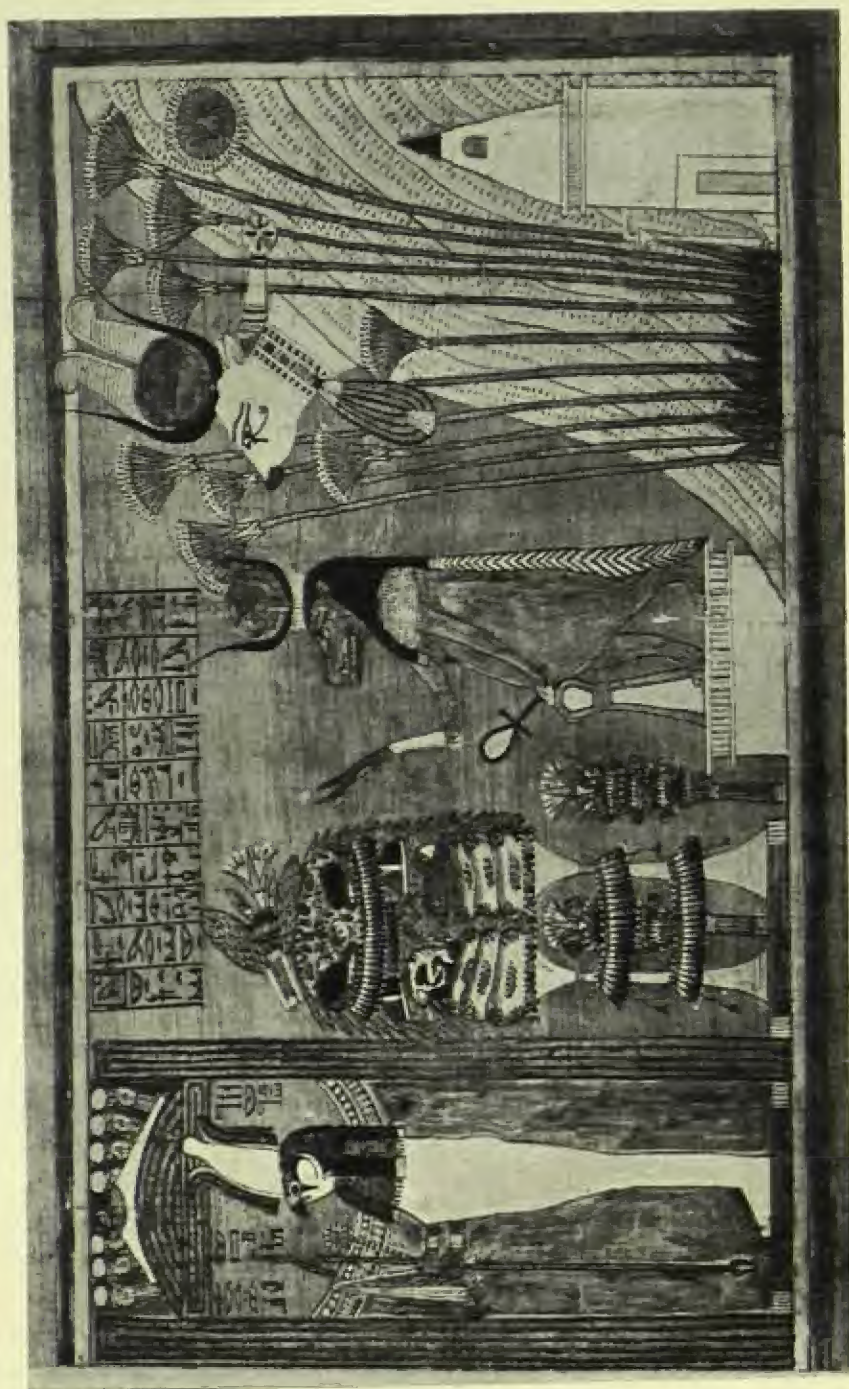
lax, and it was a matter of notoriety that certain objects which had been claimed by the Bûlâk authorities as indispensable to their collection had somehow found their way into the hands of men collecting for other museums, or private owners. And if I had refrained from buying these objects on the ground that I could not get them out of Egypt without devious devices, these objects would have been bought by these other men who were collecting. The objects would have been smuggled out of Egypt all the same; the only difference would have been that instead of being in the British Museum they would be in some museum or private collection on the Continent or in America.

The cases which I took to Bûlâk were opened in the usual way, and the value of the things in them was assessed at a far higher rate than was just, but there was no help for it. I paid the export duty, one per cent., and when the carpenter I took with me had repaired the damage done in opening the cases, they were sealed, and I paid the fee for sealing. I then received three permits—one for the officers of the bridge, one for the railway authorities, and one for the officers of Customs at Alexandria. I followed my cases to Alexandria, and was warmly welcomed by General de Montmorency, who sent his able secretary, Mr. Magro, to help me to settle up my business at the Customs House. When this was done I returned to Suez, and embarked on the P. & O. steamer "*Kaisar-i-Hind*," and so returned to London in due course (April 24th).

As soon as possible I submitted a report on my Mission to my immediate chief, the Keeper of the Department, who sent it on with a covering letter to the Principal Librarian. It was laid before the Trustees at their meeting on May 12th, and they were pleased to approve of my work. At the same meeting the Principal Librarian presented a report by himself in which, after referring in most flattering terms¹ to the way in which I had done my

¹ I reproduce the following extract from his report from the copy of the Minute with which he was so kind as to furnish me:

"In view of the eminent success of Mr. Budge's Mission to Egypt and Babylonia in securing very important antiquities for the Museum



Vignette from the Papyrus of Ani. The tomb of Ani in the Theban Hill protected by the cow-goddess Hathor-Isis, and the hippopotamus-goddess Taurt (Thoveris). Late XVIIIth dynasty.

duty, he suggested that the Honourable Board might ask the Treasury to make an acknowledgment of my services by giving me a "suitable gratuity." The Trustees accepted his suggestion, and ordered him to make application to the Treasury "for a gratuity not exceeding £150." On July 13th the Treasury were pleased to grant me the sum of £150. This "gratuity" was most acceptable, for on each Mission I had to find my own outfit. And as will be readily understood, my personal allowance from the Treasury of £1 per day when not travelling on shipboard did not cover even my most necessary expenses.

Among the large collections of antiquities which I acquired in Egypt and Baghdâd may be mentioned the following as being of special interest:

(1) *The Papyrus of Ani.* It is the finest of all the illustrated papyri inscribed with the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, and it was probably written between the years B.C. 1500 and B.C. 1400. It contains Texts and Introductions to Chapters which are not found elsewhere, and from an artistic point of view its value is greater than that of any other papyrus. It is nearly eighty feet long (Brit. Mus., No. 10470). The Trustees ordered a reproduction of it to be made in 1888, and a volume of plates was issued, in 1890, with an Introduction by Mr. P. le Page Renouf, Keeper of the Department. Owing to an accident to some of the negatives used in the reproduction of the papyrus by the late Mr. W. Griggs, there are many mistakes in the text of this edition. A second edition of the plates was issued in 1894, and this

as certified in the foregoing report by Mr. Renouf, and of the great energy and activity displayed by him in carrying out its various objects, as evidenced in his letters while engaged in it, and also of his boldness and readiness of resource under circumstances of peculiar difficulty as learnt from the account given by him of incidents of his Mission since his return, Mr. Bond ventures to submit to the Trustees that a representation by them of the services rendered by Mr. Budge in his two Missions of 1887 and 1888, and of the sacrifices made by him in undertaking and carrying them through, might succeed in obtaining for him an acknowledgment from the Treasury in the form of a suitable gratuity."

was followed in 1895 by a quarto volume, written by myself, containing a printed transcript of the text in hieroglyphic type, with interlinear transliteration and translation, a running translation, and a full introduction containing a series of chapters dealing with the religion of the ancient Egyptians and their beliefs, which found expression in the Book of the Dead. When the project for the reproduction of the papyrus was being discussed the Principal Librarian asked Mr. Renouf to write him a letter which would give the Trustees and himself some idea as to the value and importance of the Papyrus. Mr. Renouf did so, and a copy of his letter is given below.¹

¹ " Department of Egyptian and
Assyrian Antiquities,

" June 6th, 1888.

" Dear Mr. Bond,—Since the last meeting of the Trustees I have been able to examine the newly acquired papyri in greater detail than had been possible before. The result of this examination has been such as greatly to raise my estimate of their value. It is not possible to assign an absolute date to either, but both belong to the earliest period of hieroglyphic papyri of the Book of the Dead, and the larger of the two, written for the royal scribe, Ani, is the more ancient. It is, I believe, the most perfect and the most interesting of all known copies of the Book of the Dead. The text of it is very correctly written in the best and most legible linear hieroglyphs, the variants in it are of a highly interesting character, and the beautiful vignettes sometimes have explanatory notes, which are not to be found in any other manuscript known to me. There is a chapter in it which was only known to exist in one manuscript (at Leyden), but in a mutilated condition, so that no complete column could be read. In addition to some other texts which are not found in other papyri, there is one which is quite identical with an inscription on a tablet of our collection in memorial of a personage called Bekāa, in the 45th year of King Rameses II. The second papyrus, written for a royal scribe and military personage, Necht, is also, quite independently of its beautifully executed vignettes, a manuscript of very high value. It is less ancient and less correctly written than the other, but all its readings (apart from clerical errors) are valuable and characteristic of antiquity. Had these two papyri been known at the time that M. Naville was preparing his great edition of the Book of the Dead, they would have claimed very high authority indeed. The papyrus of Nebsemi, which has been published by the Trustees, is taken as the basis of M. Naville's publication, but the papyrus of Ani is perhaps as superior to that of Nebsemi as the latter is superior to all others.—I am, etc. (signed) P. le Page Renouf."



Introductory vignette and text of a Hymn to Rā from the Papyrus of Nekht, a "real scribe," and Captain of the Royal Bowmen. The scene represents Nekht and his wife adoring Osiris, and the goddess Maāt, the daughter of Rā, as they stand in the garden of their homestead in the Other World. XXth dynasty.

Brit. Mus., No. 10471.

3

[illegible]

A column of hieratic text from the papyrus containing the Precepts of Amen-hotep. XXth-XXIInd dynasty.

Brit. Mus., No. 10474.

(2) The Papyrus of Nekht, a "real royal scribe" and "commander of the royal bowmen," who flourished under the XIXth or XXth dynasty. It is 47 feet long, and contains several vignettes, and one long hymn to Rā, which are found in no other papyrus (Brit. Mus., No. 10,471).

(3) A papyrus inscribed in hieratic, with a copy of the "Admonitions of Amen-em-āpt," the son of Ka-nekht, on the obverse, and a complete Calendar of lucky and unlucky days on the reverse, B.C. 1100 (Brit. Mus., No. 10,474).

(4) A portion of a hieroglyphic Book of the Dead, painted on vellum, B.C. 1450 (Brit. Mus., No. 10,473).

(5) The mummy of an Egyptian princess in an unopened cartonnage case, from Dêr al-Baharî.

(6) Bronze Menāt of Amen-hetep III.¹

(7) A papyrus, 7 feet 9 inches long, inscribed with magical formulæ in Greek. Written in uncials of the third or fourth century A.D.

(8) Four smaller papyri of the same class, third or fourth century A.D.

(9) Portions of several wooden writing tablets.

(10) A papyrus containing portions of Homer's Iliad.²

(11) Two hundred leaves of Coptic MSS. on vellum, of various periods.³

(12) Twenty-two bilingual Greek and Demotic wooden tesserae, or "mummy tickets."⁴

¹ Brit. Mus., No. 20,760.

² See the *Annual Report* for 1888, p. 6.

³ "A far larger quantity was obtained in 1888 through Dr. Budge (Or. 3579-3581), to whom indeed, more than to any other, the British Museum owes its large acquisitions of Coptic MSS." W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1905, Introduction, p. x.

⁴ These tickets were attached to mummies for purposes of identification. "Mummies were constantly despatched from the place of death to some distant necropolis for burial. . . . To these oblong wooden tickets or labels (often in modern days called 'tesserae') were tied bearing the name of the deceased and that of his parents, his age, and often the name of the place from which he had come or of that to which he was going, either incised or written in Greek. The Demotic inscriptions usually contain a prayer or religious formula as well." Most of the mummy tickets in the British Museum have been published and translated by H. R. Hall in *P.S.B.A.*, vol. xxvii (1905), pp. 13-20, 48-56, 83-91, 115-122, 159-165.

(13) Thirty-one Greek, Demotic and Coptic ostraka.

(14) Three portions of green slate objects, sculptured with scenes of war and hunting. They are now known to date from the Late-Predynastic or Archaic period. They were found at Abydos, in Egypt.

(15) About 750 Babylonian tablets, purchased in Baghdád and Hillah, and about 1520 tablets which I selected from collections offered to me at Baṣrah, and for which I arranged that payment should be made in London.

(16) Eighty-two tablets from Tall al-'Amârnah. The texts of these, with summaries of their contents, and an Introduction, were published by the Trustees in 1892.



Hunting scene cut on a slab of green slate. In it the predynastic Egyptians, armed with boomerangs, two-headed axes, spears, clubs and a noose, are shown hunting gazelle, lions, ostriches, etc.
Brit. Mus., No. 20792.

THIRD MISSION.
CONSTANTINOPLE, MÔŞUL AND
BAGHDÂD, 1888-89.

THIRD MISSION.

CONSTANTINOPLE, MÔSUL AND BAGHDÂD, 1888-89.

AFTER my return to London towards the close of April, 1888, the Keeper of the Department and the Principal Librarian discussed with me most carefully the reports which I had sent home from Baghdâd on (1) the extensive trade in Babylonian tablets which was being carried on by natives; (2) the neglect of their duties by the watchmen who were paid to guard the Trustees' interests; and (3) the "leakage" of tablets from the sites which had been partially excavated by the Trustees. The Keeper and the Principal Librarian arrived at certain conclusions, which they discussed with Rawlinson, and on May 4th the Keeper wrote a report to the Trustees, recommending that the payment of the watchmen of the sites between Baghdâd and Hillah be discontinued. On the other hand he recommended that the services of Mr. Nimrûd Rassam, a nephew of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, who, with the help of another native called Ad-Da'im, watched over the mound of Kuyûnjik (Nineveh), be retained. I had not seen one tablet or fragment of a tablet from Kuyûnjik offered for sale in Baghdâd or London, and it was quite clear that Mr. N. Rassam was an honest and effective guardian of that mound. The Keeper's report was laid before the Trustees on May 12th, and they approved his suggestions, and decided to discharge the watchmen who had been appointed by Mr. H. Rassam when leaving Baghdâd a few years previously. The Principal Librarian communicated the Trustees' decision to the Consul-General at Baghdâd, and asked him to carry it into effect, and the watchmen were discharged.

Meanwhile an important collection of tablets and other antiquities from Abû Habbah, including a basalt bowl with a Hittite inscription all round the outside of it, was

offered for purchase to the Trustees, and they bought it. If any proofs were needed of the correctness of the report I had made as to the "leakage" of tablets from Abû Ḥabbah, an examination of this collection furnished it.

During the months of June and July several discussions about future excavations in Assyria and Babylonia took place between the Principal Librarian and Rawlinson. At the meeting of the Trustees on August 4th the latter advised the Board to re-open the excavations at Kuyûnjik, and to make some arrangement with the Porte whereby they would be able to acquire the fragments of tablets which, he was certain, still lay in the mounds there. It was most important that steps should be taken to obtain these fragments without delay, because the Trustees had ordered a catalogue of the Kuyûnjik Collection to be printed. It was necessary for the work to be as complete as possible, and the writing of the catalogue slips had already been begun. Rawlinson's advice was accepted by the Trustees, and they then directed their Principal Librarian to open negotiations with the Porte through the British Ambassador at Constantinople during the coming vacation. In September the British Ambassador informed the Trustees that the Porte expected the person who was actually to carry on the excavations at Kuyûnjik for the Trustees to make application personally, so that in the event of his breaking any of the laws connected with excavations he could be held responsible, and punished. And at the same time the British Consul-General at Baghdâd told the Foreign Office, in answer to certain enquiries, that in order to make successful excavations "it is necessary now to appoint special and very carefully chosen European agents, and to see that they come with a regularly drawn firman from the Porte." The Trustees discussed this information at their meeting on October 13th, and they decided to send me to Constantinople to apply for the permit to re-open the excavations at Kuyûnjik, and to make the best arrangement I could with O. Hamdi Bey, Director of the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople, for securing

for them the fragments of tablets which were expected to be found in the course of the work. At an interview which I had with Rawlinson a few days later he described the route which he wished me to follow in proceeding to Môsul from Constantinople, and gave me a list of the sites which he wished me to visit, and allowed me to copy the sections of his note-books which would be useful to me. During the summer of 1888 I read Arabic almost daily with Mr. J. M. Shemtob, and learned to converse with him in Arabic, and I hoped to be able to make my way through Mesopotamia without an interpreter. It was suggested by Rawlinson that the Trustees should present to H.M. 'Abd'ul-Hamîd Khân a number of their Oriental publications, and a selection being made, they were handsomely bound in whole red morocco, with elaborate tooling and gilt edges, and I was instructed to take these and a letter from the Trustees, and to arrange with the British Ambassador for them to be placed in His Majesty's hands.

I left London on Monday, October 29th, and reached Vienna the following evening without any difficulty. The case of books, which measured about 2 feet by 1 foot 8 inches by 1 foot 4 inches, startled the Customs' officials at Calais, Paris, and on the Austrian frontier, but an examination of my through ticket to Constantinople satisfied them. After Vienna the journey was full of interest to me, and the line between Tsaribrod and Bellova was the most wonderful piece of engineering I have ever seen. We were stopped at Bellova for some hours, and it seemed doubtful at one time if we should be able to proceed to the Turkish frontier. A week or so previously a band of bold, well-armed brigands had "held up" and robbed the Orient Express with great success, and it was thought that they had not been captured. At length a company of from twenty to twenty-five soldiers, under the command of a very smartly dressed officer, appeared on the platform, and when these had been distributed in the corridors of the coaches, the train went on. We reached Muşafâ Pâshâ, the Turkish frontier station, late in the evening of November 1st,

and a pretty searching examination of all luggage took place. The case of books for the Sultân provoked a good deal of discussion among the officials, and at length the Director of Customs was summoned to deal with it. This gentleman was very courteous, and asked me to make a declaration of its contents in writing, and to add to it the names of the sender and addressee, and my own name. When I had written what he asked for he handed the paper to another official, and told him to telegraph at once to the Chief of Telegraphs at Constantinople, and inform him that an Englishman (here followed my name and a brief description of myself) was on board the train, and was bringing a case of books for His Majesty from the British Government in London. He was to make arrangements for the case to be received from me on my arrival, and was to send it to some Pâshâ, whose name I did not catch, who would report the arrival of the books to the Sultân. Here I interrupted his orders, and told him that I had been instructed to deliver the case to the British Embassy, so that the British Ambassador might present the books to His Majesty. On this he modified the latter part of his orders, and directed that the Pâshâ should be informed that a case of books would, in due course, be presented to His Majesty by the British Ambassador. Having taken all precautions for the safe delivery of the case, he offered me coffee, and walked with me to the train, and wished me *bon voyage*, and went out of his way to see that my personal luggage was safely on board, and to tell me so. His kindness and dignified courtesy appealed to me greatly, and as I found at a later time that both these qualities were common among the peasants of Asia Minor, it seems to me that the pure Turk is not the brutal ruffian that he is often made out to be. At eight o'clock the following morning we arrived in Constantinople. Several officials met me, and showed me so much civility that my baggage and the case of books caused me no delay, and within an hour I had taken up my abode in the Hotel Royal, a very short distance from the British Embassy.

I lost no time in taking my letters of introduction to

Sir William White, the British Ambassador. He was going to the Selamlık that morning, and could not see me, but he seems to have glanced at the letters, for he sent me a message saying that he would be glad to see me the following morning, and that he would meanwhile have all the papers in the Embassy dealing with excavations collected ready for reference. He also said that he wished me to try to have an interview with the British Consul, Mr. W. H. Wrench, C.M.G., before I came to him again. I therefore took a guide, and set off for Wrench's office, and I was fortunate enough to find him able to see me, and to give me as much time as I wanted. I was told at the Embassy that it was very important for me to see Wrench as soon as possible, and to gain his good-will, and assistance, and guidance. He was an intimate friend of O. Hamdi Bey, the Director of the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople, and as he had rendered Hamdi Bey much assistance in founding the School of Fine Art in Constantinople, the Ambassador thought it possible that with Wrench's influence I might obtain my permit for Kuyûnjik. Wrench received me very kindly, and explained the Turkish regulations which governed the issue of permits to excavate the ruins of ancient cities to foreign Governments and Antiquarian Societies. He said that in no case would the excavator be allowed to take out of the country the antiquities which he found, for permits to do this were no longer issued. The excavator might draw, copy, photograph, and make casts or paper impressions of the objects which he found, and when this had been done the Turkish delegate, who would accompany the excavator, would take over the "finds," and send them to Constantinople at the expense of the excavator. Hamdi Bey would then examine the objects, and as an act of grace might give to the excavator the things which he did not want for the Ottoman Museum, provided all the Turkish regulations had been complied with.

In reply I told him that I was not instructed to apply for a permit to excavate a site which had not been previously worked, but for permission to clear out finally

the mound of Kuyûnjik (Nineveh), where the Trustees had carried on excavations since the year 1846. Each person who had worked at the mound had brought home inscribed tablets and fragments of tablets, and we were quite certain that the many thousands of fragments which were required to complete the tablets then in the British Museum were still lying among the ruins of the palaces of Kuyûnjik. Before attempting to excavate any fresh site it was important to finish Kuyûnjik, and to secure every inscribed fragment in the mound. The Trustees of the British Museum believed that they had the right to these under the old permits of 1846 and 1854, but if, as a result of recent legislation concerning antiquities in Turkey, this right had lapsed, they were willing to purchase at a reasonable figure all tablets and fragments which their agent might dig up at Kuyûnjik.

Wrench, having questioned me closely on the matter, said that he considered that the Trustees had a right to all the tablets and fragments at Kuyûnjik under the old permits which Stratford Canning obtained from the Sultân personally, but that he doubted greatly if the Porte would take this view. He also doubted if the Porte would allow me to keep whatever I might find, and he did not see how the price of the tablets and fragments was to be fixed if the Porte agreed to sell them. He foresaw serious difficulties either way, but he thought the application for a permit reasonable, and said that he would do all he could to help me. He thought he could serve me best by taking me to Hamdi Bey, and introducing me to him personally, and asking him as a personal favour to make some arrangement whereby I could keep all the tablets I found at Kuyûnjik. He warned me that his efforts might be in vain, because just at that moment his friend Hamdi was not well disposed towards European archæologists. He went on to say that Hamdi had had a good deal of trouble with Dr. Humann, who had excavated the ruins of Pergamon, and who, according to his view, had carried off to Berlin a great many valuable sculptures which ought to have come to Constantinople. Another cause of Hamdi's wrath was an article which

Mr. J. T. Bent had published in the "Contemporary Review" for November, 1888. Hamdi told Wrench that he neither expected nor wished to be praised by archæologists of Mr. Bent's type, and he thought it quite natural for them to abuse him for enforcing the regulations which the Turkish Government had drawn up with a view of keeping all valuable antiquities in their own country. But he resented strongly the personalities which the article contained,¹ and the unnecessary allusions to the ladies of his house² provoked him almost beyond endurance. The article exasperated many of Hamdi's friends in Constantinople, and many eminent

¹ "Nevertheless, contrary to every rule of this nation [*i.e.*, the Turkish], contrary to her religion, her antecedents, and her tastes, Turkey has at this juncture produced an extraordinary man, who is an artist, a great thinker, and an archæologist all in one. No man in the empire except the Sultan has more power than he has, and this power he uses to baffle the efforts of all the archæological societies of Europe and America in the pursuit of research, and he tries, with remarkable success, to keep for his own amusement the vast mines of archæological wealth which are contained within the limits of the empire, and which represent most of the sites of interest celebrated in the early days of civilization amongst mankind. This man is by name Hamdi, and his title of Bey may perhaps in his case be equivalent to a K.C.B. His Excellency Hamdi Bey, as he likes to be addressed, is an insignificant man in appearance, a quaint little dark man with an ape-like face, a receding forehead, and a high skull but scantily covered with hair; on his long nose rests his *pince-nez*, and on his head when he goes out he wears the orthodox fez; he is lithe and active, rejoices in contortions, his skin is yellow and puckered. . . . In point of fact, if he had been an Englishman he would probably have been a rival of Mr. Grossmith's on the stage, for nothing gives him keener pleasure than a photograph he had taken a short time ago representing him as one of the contorted ragged beggars of Stamboul, with all the appliances of mendicancy around him, including the wallet, the staff, and the dish for alms, and with the most abject look of distress on his visage that any beggar could possibly assume" (p. 724).

² "When you look at Hamdi and think what he is both in appearance and position, it strikes one as truly remarkable that he has succeeded in prevailing upon two French ladies to abandon their religion and their country and to become the occupants of a harem. Hamdi's remaining feminine possession is in the shape of a mother-in-law, one of those typical Frenchwomen who in their latter days assume magnificent proportions; she is usually kept upstairs and not shown to strangers" (p. 728).

archæologists in Europe and America greatly regretted the publication of the article, and condemned its writer's foolish maladroitness. The result of my interview with Wrench was that he promised to drive me out to Hamdi Bey's house on the Bosphorus the following Sunday afternoon, and to do his best to get Hamdi to take an interest in the work which we proposed to do at Kuyûnjik.

Next day, at the appointed time, I called at the Embassy to see Sir William White, and I was at once taken up to his room. He received me with great kindness, and before we proceeded to business he asked many questions about his friends in England from whom I had brought introductions, and was so kind as to enquire if I was comfortable at the hotel, and to say that a little later on he would invite me to stay with him at the Embassy. He then took up a batch of papers concerning the excavations which Layard carried out for Stratford Canning at Kuyûnjik and Nimrûd, and I soon found that he had mastered their contents. His interest in cuneiform discovery was not purely official. He was well acquainted with the latest works on the subject, and being a very devout man was anxious to know how far the information derived from the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions would affect the credibility of the historical portions of the Old Testament. When I had explained to him what the Trustees wished to do at Kuyûnjik, and why, he told me that he would do his utmost to help me, but that he was greatly afraid that the Porte would be difficult to deal with. British influence in Constantinople, he said, was at a low ebb, and though he was doing his best to increase it, he did not feel justified in begging for favours from the Porte at that moment. He summoned Sir Alfred Sandison, First Oriental Secretary to the Embassy, and introduced me to him, and asked him to suggest what course of action should be followed. Sir Alfred thought that the application for the permit should be made to the Minister of Instruction, Munîf Pâshâ, and that every attempt should be made by Sir William White and Wrench to induce Hamdi Bey to support it. Thereupon Sir William ordered the application to be drawn

up without delay, and asked Sir Alfred Sandison and Mr. (later Sir) Adam Block to watch its course through the various Departments at the Porte. This done, he introduced me to the principal members of his staff—Mr. E. D. F. Fane, Secretary of Embassy; Mr. Tower,¹ Mr. Des Graz,² and Mr. Findlay³—and these gentlemen showed me much kindness during the seven weeks I spent in Constantinople.

On the following afternoon, Sunday, November 4th, Mr. Wrench drove me out to "Cool Fountain," Hamdî Bey's pretty house on the Bosphorus, and our visit, which lasted for some hours, was most enjoyable. Hamdî received me very kindly, and suggested that before he attempted to show us his beautiful garden and the priceless treasures which he had in his house we should settle the business, which was the primary object of our visit. We sat down at once, and as soon as the servant had deposited on the table a trayful of cups of coffee and cigarettes, Wrench began to talk to Hamdî in Turkish, and whilst he was doing so I had an opportunity of looking at our host. He was of slight build and of moderate height, with a well-shaped head (then nearly bald), and a very remarkable face, in which were deeply set a pair of dark, extraordinary eyes, that looked through one and beyond. His voice was low and sympathetic, and whilst he talked his very thin hands were never still. Like all natives of Chios, he spoke Turkish (so I was told) with a foreign accent. When Wrench had finished his remarks, Hamdî turned to me, and, speaking in French, asked me many questions about the British Museum and its system of government, and the collections in it. He then went on to say that Wrench had told him the object of my Mission, and that he was greatly in favour of the Trustees renewing their excavations at Kuyûnjiğ and Nimrûd, and Kal'at Sharkât,⁴ in Assyria, and at Abû Habbah,

¹ Now Sir R. T. Tower, K.C.M.G., C.V.O.

² Now Sir C. L. Des Graz, K.C.M.G.

³ Now Sir Mansfeldt de Cardonnel Findlay, C.B., K.C.M.G.

⁴ Spelling doubtful.

Bâbil, etc., in Babylonia. I told him that we intended to clear out Kuyûnjik once and for all, and I begged him to make some arrangements with me whereby I could keep all the tablets and fragments which might be found there. In reply he said that he personally was quite willing to renounce all claim to the tablets, and that he was prepared to advise the Porte to give me authority to keep all those we might recover from the ruins, provided that the Trustees of the British Museum would give to the Imperial Ottoman Museum casts of sculptures and books of equal value. The possibility that Hamdî would make some suggestion of this kind had been foreseen and provided for, and I told him that the Trustees would be glad to acquire the tablets on those terms. He then made out a list of the sculptures of which he wanted casts, and in due course these casts, and a complete set of the archæological publications of the British Museum, were despatched to Hamdî Bey. He suggested that the formal application for the permit should be sent to the Minister of Public Instruction as soon as possible, and promised that he would do his utmost to bring my business to a satisfactory conclusion ; and I am sure that he kept his word.

Hamdî then asked us to walk through his house and look at the various objects of antiquarian interest with which every room and corridor were filled. The house was furnished somewhat after the French fashion, and it was clear that his sojourn of eleven years in Paris, during which time he was studying art there, had left its mark upon him. Here and there we saw small pictures of the interiors of mosques and other Muḥammadan buildings, in the painting of which he excelled, and his reproductions of tile-work were quite remarkable for their fidelity to colours and designs of the originals. He possessed a large collection of beautiful Tanagra figures, and many very fine specimens of " Phœnician " and Arab glass, and several very good Greek and Roman bronzes. In one small room he had collected a great many fine specimens of the English clocks which the old Levant Company used to send as gifts to their agents in Turkey and Syria, and

it was said in Constantinople that he succeeded in acquiring, by one means or another, every old English clock that came into the market. The house was large and roomy, and though every part of it contained "anticas" in profusion, they were so skilfully arranged that they seemed to form parts of a general scheme of decoration and furnishing which was very pleasing. The garden was a delightful place, and afforded unobstructed views up and down the Bosphorus. On leaving Hamdî invited us to visit the Imperial Ottoman Museum, and he promised to arrange for the opening of the cases which contained sarcophagi from Sidon, and to be in attendance if we would settle upon a time for our visit. As Wrench said that he had no pressing work waiting for him in his office, we decided to accept Hamdî's very kind offer, and to go the following morning.

On the way back Wrench told me a few facts about Hamdî's career. He was the son of Edhem Pâshâ. Edhem had held many important offices, and had been Grand Wazîr, and he was a broad-minded and tolerant man, who was universally honoured for his just dealing and integrity. Hamdî was the son of a Greek lady, and was born at Chios in 1843. His love for form and colour manifested itself very early in his life, and he determined to be an artist. Much against his will, Edhem Pâshâ sent Hamdî to Paris to learn the arts of painting and sculpture, and the young man astonished his teachers by the rapidity of his progress. When Hamdî returned to Constantinople his father insisted on his entering the Turkish Diplomatic Service, and obtained for him a very good appointment, but the work was wholly uncongenial to him, and he discharged his duties in such a perfunctory manner that his father was obliged to allow him to resign. Another post was obtained for him, this time in the Local Government Board of Pera, but his father found it necessary to remove him from office work entirely, for his own credit. In 1877 the Sultân decided to found a Museum of Antiquities on the lines of the Bûlâk Museum in Cairo, and Edhem's influence was such that he succeeded in getting his son Hamdî nominated to the

Directorship of it. A building in the palace grounds, Tchînili Kiosk, was handed over to Hamdî to turn into a Museum, and he at once removed there the miscellaneous collection of antiquities which had been stored in the Church of St. Irene. Hamdî's task was not easy, for the Kiosk was wholly unsuited for a museum, and a good deal of steady opposition was offered to all his attempts to turn it into one. Theoretically he had only to ask the Sultân for money whenever he wanted it, but as a matter of fact he was always in need of money to pay for shelves, fittings and cases. He had to improvise a staff, and even to teach the workmen how to make the exhibition cases; but thanks to his zeal, and mother-wit, and incessant work, he overcame all opposition and difficulties, and the Imperial Ottoman Museum became one of the sights of Constantinople. When the Kiosk was full, Hamdî made the plans for a new building, and actually succeeded in getting the money to carry them into effect. He also began to bring antiquities from many ancient sites in Asia Minor, and to make excavations on behalf of the Turkish Government. The greatest of his "finds" was the collection of antiquities which he obtained from Sidon, and included the splendid sarcophagi of the "Satrap," the "Mourners," the "Lycian," and "Alexander." In 1883, with the help of Wrench, he founded the Fine Art School, and when I visited it with him he told me that there were about 150 students working in it. When I re-visited Constantinople in 1906 the new museum buildings were completed, and its galleries were filled with fine collections of antiquities of all kinds—Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, Phœnician, Greek, Roman, etc.—and the collection of dated Oriental carpets and textiles which Hamdî showed me in it was, I believe, the finest and most complete in the world. Hamdî had done this great work in little more than twenty-five years, an almost incredible fact.

The following morning I went to Tchînili Kiosk, and found Hamdî Bey at work. He was busily engaged in superintending the removal of cases from the garden to the building, and in finding out what damage had been

done to their contents by the heavy rain which had fallen on the previous Saturday. His labourers were all unskilled men, and it was pathetic to see them dragging and pushing heavy cases about by their own strength, unaided by "skids," short crowbars, levers, etc., such as all large museums possess. Hamdî was greatly troubled about his inability to move the huge cases which contained the Sidonian sarcophagi, and I ventured to suggest that he should borrow a couple of small hydraulic "jacks" from some shipping yard where vessels were repaired. I told him that we used these in the British Museum with excellent results, and showed him how we raised large and heavy sculptures half an inch at a time by means of hard wooden wedges, and how we slid them along over planks covered with a layer of powdered blacklead well rubbed into them. Whilst we were talking Wrench appeared, and when I explained to him what Hamdî wanted, we went into the Kiosk, and he sat down and wrote to one of his many friends among the shipping community, and before the end of the week the "jacks" were forthcoming. But, alas, before all the cases were taken under cover the storms of winter began in good earnest, and I saw the case containing the so-called sarcophagus of Alexander with three inches of snow upon it. Hamdî showed me the Egyptian sarcophagus in which Tabnith, King of Sidon, the father of Eshmûnâzâr, was buried, and the slabs from his tomb which were to be put together in the new museum.¹ He gave me permission to have a cast made of the whole sarcophagus, and a separate cast of the Phœnician inscription on the foot of it; both casts are now in the British Museum.

When Hamdî had shown me many of his treasures he suggested that we should go together to the Porte and call upon Munîf Pâshâ, the Minister of Public Instruction, and we did so. We were admitted to Munîf Pâshâ's private room without delay, and were very kindly received.

¹ See a short article by me in the *Athenæum* for July 13th, 1889 (No. 3220, p. 72).

Hamdî explained to him the details connected with the permit for which I was asking, and told him that the Trustees of the British Museum were going to present casts and books to the Imperial Ottoman Museum. Munîf expressed his pleasure at hearing this, and then went on to talk at some length about the excavations which he wished to see undertaken in Assyria and Babylonia. He was a friend of Hamdî, and a strong supporter of all his projects, and he was most anxious for the British Museum to renew excavations in many parts of Mesopotamia. Reports had been made to him on Kuyûnjik, Nimrûd, and Kâl'at-Sharkât, and he knew that there were still many sculptures to be found in all these places. He hoped that when the British Museum renewed excavations it would be possible to have some of these sculptures transported to Constantinople for the Ottoman Museum, and he told me that if I would help in this work I might take to London all the small objects which I found—tablets, glass vessels, bronzes, etc. Speaking about the probable terms of the permit, for which Sir William White had applied formally that morning, he said that he would be obliged to send a "Delegate" to Kuyûnjik to see that I observed the terms of the permit, and to take charge of the antiquities which he hoped would be dug up. Further, he would instruct him to lay no claim to any tablet or inscribed document, and he would try to select a "man of sympathy and intelligence" who would forward my work. I must pay this "Delegate" a salary of £T20 per month, which was to begin on the day he left Constantinople, and end the day he returned to the city, and also all his travelling expenses; and I must deposit the sum of £T50 with the Porte as a guarantee of my own good behaviour. But he warned me that permits to excavate were not issued by him, but by the Council of Ministers, who were never specially anxious to grant them, and that although he would give me all the help he could, a fortnight might elapse before I could receive my permit. I felt that Munîf really did take an interest in archæological work, and when we left him I thanked him very heartily for his kind reception and his

promised help. I reported the result of our morning's work to Wrench, who said that all had been done which could be done for the present, and that I must possess my soul in patience and wait, and that I had better visit the churches and mosques and walls of Constantinople, and see something of the city.

During my first week in Constantinople Sir William White sent for me several times to talk about antiquities, and during one of the visits which I paid him he gave me an introduction to Canon C. G. Curtis, the eminent authority on the antiquities of Constantinople, and joint author with Mrs. Walker of "*Broken Bits of Byzantium*." This gentleman had lived in Constantinople for many years, and knew every object of interest not only in the city itself, but in the country round about, and his knowledge, both historical and archæological, was very great. He was most kind to me, and spent many mornings and afternoons in taking me to see churches and mosques and other buildings, many of which, but for his personal influence and guidance, I should never have seen. He was on friendly terms with all the Patriarchs of the various Oriental churches in Constantinople, and some of these showed me rare ecclesiastical vestments, manuscripts, etc., which very few strangers were ever allowed to see. Sometimes Wrench joined us in our wanderings, and it seemed to me that what he and Canon Curtis did not know about places and buildings and things of interest in the city could not be worth knowing. It must be remembered that when I was in Constantinople in 1888 there were not any popular works written by competent authorities on the city and its antiquities, and even Murray's "*Guide*" left much to be desired. When Canon Curtis could not go with me to show and explain some object or building which he wished me to see, he would either give me a note to some friend who would help me, or would send one of his trustworthy servants with me. He was a perfect guide, for both his knowledge and his patience were inexhaustible. He had supreme skill in describing in a few simple words the salient features of a building, and in arranging and

presenting his facts so that non-experts, like myself, could understand them. He was beloved by everyone for his modesty, kindness and sincerity, and his goodness to me I shall never forget.

The more I saw of Constantinople the more I wanted to see, and the tracing of the walls from the seashore round the land side, and the examination of the ruins of the towers, gave me much interesting and instructive occupation. But as the days passed and I received no information about the granting of the permit, I began to be anxious, for I foresaw that if I were delayed much longer I should have to travel to Môsul in the depth of winter. Sir Alfred Sandison and Mr. Adam Block made frequent enquiries at the Porte, and were duly assured that everything possible was being done to push the matter on. In the third week of my stay in Constantinople we were told that the Porte had sent a telegram to the Wâli of Môsul, asking him if there was any objection locally to the excavations being renewed at Kuyûnjik, and that an answer was expected daily. As no answer had come by the time the fourth week began, Sir William White pressed for a repetition of the Porte's question. A second telegram was sent, coupled with a request for an immediate answer, but none came. After another week's delay a third telegram was sent, and still no answer came. Meanwhile I saw Hamdî Bey and Munîf Pâshâ frequently, and both gentlemen were much annoyed at the delay. At length Munîf went to the Grand Wazîr, Kiâmil Pâshâ, and invoked his help, and the Grand Wazîr promised to enquire into the reason of the delay in answering at Môsul. At the end of the fifth week someone at the Porte remembered that the Wâli of Môsul had been recalled by His Majesty, in consequence of some complaints which had been made against him by the people of Môsul, and it was clear that if there was no Wâli at Môsul telegrams addressed to him could not be answered. About the same time someone else remembered that His Majesty had appointed one 'Alî Kamâlî to be the new Wâli of Môsul, and that he was at that moment living in Stambûl. Hamdî Bey took me over to call upon him,

and he received me kindly. He was an old man, and his perfect courtesy was that of the Turk of the "old school." He lamented bitterly that he had to travel across the desert to Môsul in the winter, and said quite openly that he intended, if possible, to delay his departure until April. He knew no European language, and only talked Turkish usually, but he knew about as much Arabic as I did, and so we managed to get along. Hamdî explained my business in Môsul, and the new Wâlî promised to do all he could for me when there. As we left him he said to me, "All the English are my children, and thou art my eldest son, my dear."

Whilst waiting for the answer from Môsul, I paid short visits to many very pretty places up the Bosphorus, and received much help and kindness from various members of the English community at Constantinople. I saw a great deal of Sir William White, who took a lively and personal interest in my work. One day early in December he said to me, "I send for you two or three times a day to talk to, and it is not fair to you. I want you to give up your rooms in the hotel and come and live here in the Embassy, where we have empty rooms in plenty and to spare. There is much I want to talk over with you." His wish was to all intents and purposes a command, and I gratefully accepted his kind offer. The following morning he sent servants to fetch me and my kit, and so I became the Ambassador's guest. The more I saw of Sir William the more I liked him, and his blunt, straightforward speech made it easy to get on with him. He was a deeply religious man, and a great lover of the truth, and nothing excited his wrath so much as prevarication and lying. He knew well all the languages of Eastern Europe, and I heard him talk to eight men of different nationalities each in his own tongue in the course of a morning. Once, when he was speaking of diplomatic lying, I asked him if successful diplomacy was not difficult to attain, and he said, "No. I always speak the truth, no one believes me, and so I get my way."

A day or two after I removed to the Embassy

Lady White returned to Constantinople, and her charming daughter, Madame Geier, came with her. Luncheon and dinner parties became the order of the day, and at these I met most of the diplomatic representatives of the Great Powers of Europe. On December 8th Lady White made up a party, and we all went to see the "divine Sarah" in "Frou-Frou."

Meanwhile the business of my permit had come to a standstill. When Sir Alfred Sandison asked the Grand Wazîr if he had enquired into the cause of the delay in answering the telegrams at Môsul, he apologised profusely, and said he had forgotten to do so. And he went on to say that the Porte could not possibly grant a permit for anyone to excavate at Kuyûnjik until they knew that no local interests would be injured, and that none of the religious or legal authorities at Môsul objected. He also advised Sir Alfred to withdraw the application until the new Wâlî had arrived in Môsul and taken up his duties. When Sir Alfred told me the result of his interview with the Grand Wazîr I was sorely disappointed, and I did not see exactly what was to be done to overcome the difficulty. I had spent six weeks in Constantinople, Sir William White, Munîf Pâshâ, Hamdî Bey, Wrench, and others had done their very best to obtain the permit for me, and all their trouble and my time seemed to be wasted. Such was the position on Monday, December 10th. In the evening of that day Sir William sent for me to come and talk matters over with him. He said that there was only one way out of the difficulty, and that was to appeal to His Majesty 'Abd ul-Hamîd Khân direct, but this was a course of action that he was unwilling to take. From one point of view it was necessary to consult the Sultân about the permit, because Sir William had found that the parts of the mound of Kuyûnjik where we proposed to make excavations had become the personal property of His Majesty, and were under the charge of the officials who administered the Crown Domains. He assumed that the deadlock had occurred because the officials of the Crown Domains could not give us permission to excavate without His Majesty's consent. "If," said he,

"I ask the Sultân to grant you a permit to excavate, I must ask for it as a personal favour, but this I am unwilling to do except on one condition." I asked what the condition was, and in reply he told me that he had a son, Mr. N. White, whom he was training for employment in the Diplomatic Service; but though his son possessed many of the qualifications necessary in a diplomat, he did not like the service, and he wanted to go about the world to see if there were not other occupations in life which were more in accordance with his tastes. Sir William thought his son's views reasonable enough, but he was unwilling for him to begin a series of travels which had no very definite object. Mr. N. White wished to travel in Oriental countries, but Sir William thought it impolitic to let the son of the British Ambassador to Turkey wander about in Asia Minor unaccompanied and uncontrolled. On the other hand, for reasons which need not be gone into here, Sir William was anxious for his son to set out on his travels as soon as possible, and he asked me if I would take his son with me to Môsul, and do my best to make him take an interest in the work which I expected to do there. Only one answer to this question was possible, and I said that I would take Mr. N. White with me, and that I would try to justify the confidence which Sir William showed in entrusting his son to my care. I reminded Sir William that my personal travelling allowance from the Treasury was one pound per day, and that only when not on shipboard, and that if his son went with me he would have to "rough it," and he said that this was exactly what he wished his son to do. He intended him to share and share alike with me, and he would place funds for his son's expenses in my hands, so that I might exercise the same control over them as I did over my own.

Late in the day though it was, Sir William sent for Sir Alfred Sandison, First Oriental Dragoman to the Embassy, and when I had retired he explained to him the arrangement which he had made with me about his son. And, so I was told, having written a document, he sent it by him to Yildiz Kiosk, with strict orders not

to return until he had arranged for the permit to be granted to me. What Sir Alfred did, or whom he saw, I know not, but when he returned to the Embassy late that night he told me to "sleep well." The following morning Sir William sent for me, and told me to get ready money to pay the deposit (£T50) and the fee for the permit (£T20), and to go with Sir Alfred at noon to see the Grand Wazîr at the Porte, and to receive my permit. We set off in good time, and went first to the office of Munîf Pâshâ, the Minister of Public Instruction, who told us that the draft of the permit had been made, and that the fair copy of the document was being written for me at that moment. He gave us coffee, cigarettes and rose-leaf jam, and told us stories of his early life in Constantinople, which were most amusing. He was in a very amiable frame of mind, and showed us with great glee a gift which someone had made him of a bell in the form of a cat seated on a tub, with its tail hanging down. When the tail was pulled the bell rang, and he summoned several servants one after the other to show us how the toy worked. When the permit was brought to him we all adjourned to the room of the Grand Wazîr, who received us very kindly, and insisted on our partaking of the usual refreshment, coffee, etc. He then told us that His Majesty had taken a personal interest in granting the permit at the request of his "most noble friend the British Ambassador," and that he wished us great success in our work. His Majesty remembered that the British Government had sent him some cylinders with writing upon them in the nail-character (*mismârî*, i.e., cuneiform), and he hoped we should find many such, and send him some more. Further, to please the British Ambassador, and to facilitate our movements through his Empire, His Majesty had ordered a special document (*buyûruldî*) to be prepared under his own seal, calling upon every official in his service to provide us with escorts and horses whenever or wherever we needed them. That His Majesty wished to please Sir William White was quite clear, and Kiâmîl Pâshâ's courtesy and tact in carrying out his master's wishes were most gracious. I begged Sir Alfred to express

my thanks in suitable phrases, and the smile of genuine pleasure with which Kiâmil Pâshâ received them proved that the words were felicitous and adequate. I then paid the fees, which Kiâmil Pâshâ said that but for the law he would gladly have remitted, and received my permit and *buyûruldî*, and we departed.

On my return to the Embassy I found that Sir William had been making enquiries by telegraph about routes to Môsul. I had told him that I hoped to travel thither viâ Damascus and Palmyra, but the answers which he received from Bêrût and Damascus stated that the tribes who lived in the desert east of the latter place were in a state of "unrest," and he therefore decided that we had better take another route. I was sorry for this, because I longed to see Damascus and Palmyra, and to cross that "great and terrible desert" which lies to the east of them. Mr. Catoni, Vice-Consul at Alexandretta, in answer to Sir William's enquiry, said that we had better travel viâ Aleppo, Urfa and Mârdîn, and it was decided that we should take that route. Mr. Russell, formerly Vice-Consul at Môsul, who had recently returned to Europe by that route, was then in Constantinople, and Sir William suggested that I should go and see him, and gain what information I could about it. I did so, but the story of his own journey from Môsul to the Syrian seacoast was not encouraging. He said that he started from Môsul with a small but well-equipped caravan, and that as soon as he entered the country of the Shammar Arabs, to the west of Môsul, he began to meet difficulties. The Arabs were very troublesome, and resented his passage through their country. A few days after leaving Môsul a body of Shammar horsemen, armed with long spears, stopped his little caravan, and demanded "passage money," which he absolutely refused to pay. The Arabs then demanded gifts, and when he refused to give them a present they made some sort of an attempt to seize his baggage. He then drew his revolver and fired, and one of the Arabs was wounded. The Arabs then attacked the caravan in good earnest, and pillaged it with great thoroughness, and, having seized his personal belongings

and his beasts, left him with no food and very little clothing to continue his journey as best he could. In telling me his story, he said that the real trouble began as soon as he fired off his revolver, for though he aimed at no one, and had no intention of wounding or killing anyone, the Arabs believed that he intended to kill some of them, and naturally treated him as they did. As our intended route lay through the country of the Shammar Arabs I did not report to Sir William all the details of Mr. Russell's journey.

On the evening of that day Mr. N. White returned to Constantinople from Belgrade, and I was introduced to my future travelling companion. He was a tall, stalwart, handsome young man, with a fair complexion, and fine open features. His conversation and manners were most agreeable, he spoke three or four languages fluently, and he possessed many of his father's qualities. He was very pleased with the idea of seeing Mōsul and Baghdād, and at once began to read eagerly the books on Mesopotamian excavations which were in his father's library. His faculty for "getting up" the subject quickly was extraordinary, and if he had been grounded in ancient Semitic languages he would have become a first-rate Assyriologist. Sir William White did nothing by halves, and in order to give us time to know each other relieved me of all the details of preparation for our journey. The first steamer which left for Alexandretta was the Russian steamer "Lazareff," which was due to leave on the 15th, and to call at Dardanelles, Smyrna, Chios and Mersina on the way. We were told that every berth on her was taken, but two were found for us by some means, and we prepared to leave Constantinople on the following Saturday. I shall never forget the time and trouble which Sir William devoted to the preparations for our journey, and the anxiety with which he tried to remove every difficulty from our path. His love for his son was indescribable, as was also his kindness to me. The parting between father and son was the most affecting I have ever witnessed. On Saturday, early in the afternoon, we drove down to the quay in great state, being accompanied

by Lady White, her daughter and her son-in-law, and by many of the Embassy *kawwāsāt*, or servants, clad in red and gold. Long before the "Lazareff" sailed we had settled down on board, and were eager to begin our journey.

As soon as the cargo was stowed, and the hatches closed and covered, a large gangway was let down for a numerous party of Russian pilgrims, who were going to Jerusalem to keep the Festivals of the Nativity and New Year. They dragged themselves up to the ship, a tired and weary crowd, and sat down in groups on and about the hatches, and evidently were thankful to find themselves on the steamer. Their garments were few and scanty, and nearly every one of them carried a bundle containing his or her belongings and provisions for their ten days' voyage to Jaffa, which they hoped to reach on the morning of the 24th. One of their number, a tall, gaunt man with a long, greyish-black beard, took out a book and began to chant some composition, and his companions sang what I assumed to be responses with great earnestness. Their singing was hearty, but unmelodious. Whilst this was going on we heard the tramp of many feet coming along the quay, and as we watched a body of Turkish soldiers, five hundred strong, with four officers and an immense amount of baggage, marched along the side of the ship and halted. They were all time-expired men from the Yaman, in South Arabia, and were returning to Adana, their native town, to be disbanded. At the word of command they tramped up the gangway, and spread themselves all over the upper and lower decks. Where they were to stay during the day, or sleep at night, I could not imagine. As soon as the baggage they brought was hauled on board we sailed. Almost immediately after we started a fight broke out between some Turkish soldiers and the Russian pilgrims, for neither party loved the other. The cause of the quarrel was this. The gaunt Russian alluded to above, having finished his chanting, laid himself down flat on his stomach on the main hatch, and began to read from a book which he held open before his face. A Turkish

officer, standing on the upper deck immediately above the Russian, spat down on the book with a curse. The Russian, full of rage at the insult, leaped up like a madman, and, not perceiving that the officer on the upper deck was the source of the defilement of his book, rushed at some Turkish soldiers, who were standing by and greatly enjoying the sight of the Russian's anger, and began banging the head of one of them with his book. A very fine free fight took place, in which everybody joined, and the disturbance was only quelled by the prompt action of the captain, who had cold water pumped on to them from the hose with which the crew were trying to wash the decks. When order was restored he told the combatants that if any further fight took place the cold water should be replaced by scalding steam from the boilers. His wrath was very great, and I believe that he would have kept his promise had occasion arisen. The night was clear, with a lovely moon and blue sky, and though we were all very sorry for the wretched Russians who sat on the wet deck and shivered in their drenched garments, we could do nothing to help them.

In the course of the evening further trouble with the soldiers developed, and small wonder, for their officers had omitted to bring any rations for them on board, and they had no supper, and no prospect of getting anything to eat until they reached Smyrna, where we hoped to arrive on Monday morning. The soldiers first seized some of the dishes which were being taken from the cook's galley to the saloon, and devoured their contents, and then they stole from some of the Russian pilgrims the little bundles of dry food which they had brought with them. We expected another violent disturbance, but the pilgrims, who fought boldly when their religion was insulted, only sat down and wailed when their food was stolen from them. Meanwhile the captain came to the saloon, and told us to keep our revolvers handy, and said that he was going to push on as fast as possible to Dardanelles, where he would summon help from the military authorities, and try to get the soldiers disembarked. Early next morning, when we were a few miles from Dardanelles, the ship, instead of

making for the port, began to steam out to sea, and there was a great commotion on board in consequence. The engines were stopped by the captain, who thought that the steering-gear had been tampered with, and this proved to be the case. The soldiers had found out that the captain intended to disembark them at Dardanelles, and as they were all anxious to get back to their homes at Adana, they did not like the idea of detention, and perhaps punishment, at Dardanelles. They therefore tore off the wooden covering of the case in which the port rudder-chain ran aft, and knocked out the tie-bolts from a length of the chain, which they dragged from the case and threw overboard. By this manoeuvre they hoped to prevent the ship from making port. But the captain was equal to the occasion. He rang to the engineer to start the engines, and whilst the ship steamed slowly, always in a circle, he managed to get a boat lowered, and sent the first officer off in her to shore with a letter asking for help; and the boat got away before the soldiers could stop her. After two or three hours the boat returned, accompanied by a larger boat containing the Governor of Dardanelles, and some Turkish officers and a few soldiers, carrying chains and fetters. When these officers came on board they went down to the lower deck and held a court of enquiry, and found it to be true that the time-expired men who were going to Adana had been shipped without rations for the voyage, and that many of them had mutinied in consequence and had robbed the pilgrims of their food. The officers in command of the men were severely censured, and the ringleaders among the men were seized and put in irons, and were taken to land in the Government boat. The captain asked the Governor of Dardanelles to remove all the soldiers from his ship, but he refused to do so, and told him that he must lie to until rations could be sent to the ship. He seemed to think it natural for hungry soldiers to mutiny and steal, and said that as soon as the provisions arrived there would be no further trouble, and that he would send sufficient to make good the losses which the Russians had suffered. In due course food arrived

from the shore, and the steering-gear having been repaired, we continued our journey.

The prediction of the Governor of Dardanelles that we should have no further trouble was not, alas, fulfilled. Soon after lunch uproar broke out once more on the lower deck, but this time the cause of it was the pilgrims, and not the soldiers. The pilgrims having seen some of the soldiers taken in irons to shore, considered that they, the Christians, had gained a victory over the Turkish infidels, and they began to jibe and insult the soldiers near them. When some Turkish women in heavy head-dresses and *yâshmağs* passed the main hatch, some of the pilgrims used insulting words to them, and one violent young Russian caught hold of the dress of one of the women, and tried to turn her back. The woman screamed, and called upon the Turkish soldiers to protect her, and they knocked the Russian about so badly that he was thought to be killed. Then the fight became general, and the noise was so great that we all rushed aft to see what was the matter. The soldiers explained to the captain what had happened, and as there happened to be on board the Russian Consul at Bêrût, he sent for him, and called upon him to make amends to the soldiers on behalf of his countrymen, the pilgrims. The Consul succeeded in quieting the soldiers, and then he addressed the pilgrims to such good purpose that they seemed to shrink in their garments. Once more we hoped for peace, but were again disappointed, for towards evening, whilst we were enjoying the view of the island of Mitylene, another uproar broke out. We found that the soldiers were quarrelling with their officers, and left them to it. It seemed that when the Governor of Dardanelles came aboard that morning, one of the officers from the fort who was with him told him that he had been informed by the War Office in Constantinople that a sum of money had been given to the chief officer who was in command of the time-expired soldiers, so that he might buy food for his men *en route*. Someone overheard this remark, and told the soldiers who, after we had been steaming for a few hours, watched their opportunity, and then closed in on their officers, and demanded the money

which had been given them to provide their men with food. The uproar which we heard was the result of this demand. Later we learned that the soldiers had beaten their officers, and then locked all four of them in one cabin, over the door of which they mounted guard.

Among the saloon passengers were the Persian Consul at Adana and the French Consul at Aleppo, and the Russian Consul at Bêrût, all of whom were returning to their duties. When quietness had once again fallen on the ship these gentlemen discussed the events of the day, and decided to make representations collectively to the Turkish authorities, and to try to get the soldiers disembarked at Smyrna the following day. Senator Thatcher, an American, and Mr. Kuhn, a resident of Smyrna, greatly approved of their decision.

We sailed into the Bay of Smyrna long before daylight, but the port authorities would not allow the ship to be berthed before six o'clock. All the saloon passengers were stirring at a very early hour, and it seemed doubtful if any of them had really gone to bed. Mr. Kuhn showed White and myself much kindness, and invited us to his house, and whilst White, with a guide, went to buy a walking-stick and some medicine and some packs of playing cards, Mr. Kuhn went about with me, and helped me to buy a spirit stove and spirit and provisions for our journey from Alexandretta to Aleppo. When this was done he took me through the bazâr, and showed me many interesting things, and some very fine old Turkey carpets. Coming down into the town from the mountains I saw a *kafilah*, or string of double-humped camels. They were very fine animals, with long shaggy coats, and they looked most intelligent. The one-humped camel had always seemed to me to be an incomplete beast, and when I saw the two-humped camel I felt that all camels ought to have two humps. Meanwhile White became bored with the bazâr, and went back to the ship, where he found the four Turkish officers just ready to go up into the town. They had promised the soldiers to go and buy food for them, and so had been let out of their cabin. White, of course, could speak Turkish, and

in a very short time he made friends with the officers, and went off with them to be shown the sights of Smyrna. I thus had the afternoon free, and with the assistance of a guide I went and examined the remains of the ancient castle and walls on Mount Pagus, and, the day being bright and clear, I had a very fine view over the town and gulf, and got a general idea of the lie of the country for a very long distance to the south. I visited the tomb on the north side of the mountain, which is supposed to contain the bones of Saint Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, who suffered martyrdom by burning in or about the year 166 (A.D.). On the tomb fluttered bits of rags from the garments of those who had been cured of sicknesses by the intercession of the saint, and a very large number of *ex votos* of all kinds (models of limbs, hands, feet, ears, etc.) were also hanging on it. Crowds of sturdy beggars of all ages and of both sexes besieged visitors, and many stripped themselves naked to show the scars of sores which the saint had healed, and limbs which he had straightened, and bones which he had rejoined. As many of the beggars were blind in one eye, and the eyes of many others sorely needed medical attention, I was sorry that the saint was not a skilled oculist as well as an able surgeon. On my way back to the ship my guide showed me many churches and religious institutions and schools, and it was quite clear that the spiritual needs of the European communities were well provided for. Smyrna was a most interesting town, and under the rule of any but the Turks it ought to become a prosperous and wealthy seaport.

All was quiet when I returned to the ship, for the soldiers had gone into the town to seek for food, and to complain about their officers to the military authorities. One by one the saloon passengers came back from the town, and we enjoyed a quiet evening. The Russian Consul at Bêrût found out during the day that the soldiers had formerly served in Southern Arabia, and that they had been expelled from Şan'aâ in Yaman by the Governor, and sent back to Constantinople because of their outrageous behaviour. During the summer they had

mutinied in Constantinople, and as their officers found them unmanageable they were shipped *en bloc* for Mersina, where they were to be disbanded; and the Governor of Mersina had promised him to send a superior officer on board, with orders to put in irons any soldier who disturbed the peace. White came back with the Turkish officers, and we entertained them at dinner by his wish, but very soon afterwards he and they departed to visit a mess in the town. Towards midnight the soldiers returned in groups, and as they were quite orderly we assumed that someone had fed them. White and the officers did not return till a few minutes before the ship sailed, and they were escorted by several officers and young "notables" of Smyrna, who had entertained the "son of the British Eltchi" at an all-night party, and came to wish him "bon voyage."

We left Smyrna at 6 a.m., and arrived off the Bay of Kastro, in the island of Chios, about 2 p.m. Crowds of Greeks came on board to sell their beautiful grapes, lemons, oranges and figs, and as soon as it became known that there were five hundred soldiers on board, stalwart men appeared with large baskets of boiled eggs, flat loaves of bread, and vegetables. The Persian Consul at Adana, who knew the Turkish soldier better than we, suggested that the saloon passengers should purchase provisions, and we all bought ropes of dried figs, bread, and a good supply of that fragrant and delicious fruit, the Adana orange. This orange is grown from slips cut from orange trees and grafted on lemon trees, and its taste and flavour are most refreshing. We lay off Kastro all the afternoon, and enjoyed the sight of the vineyards and groves of fruit trees which reached almost to the shore. The old harbour of Chios, which lay a little inland, is now silted up, but its site was easily distinguished by the houses and gardens round about it. Towards evening the captain found that the rudder-chains had again been tampered with by the soldiers, and another quarrel broke out this time between the Greeks and the soldiers, who refused to pay for the bread and eggs which they took from them. Some of the

soldiers began to beat the Greeks, so the captain seized the ringleaders, put them in irons, and sent them ashore in native boats. Whilst they were on their way to land we steamed off, and we were all glad to escape from the noise and confusion at Kastro.

We enjoyed a quiet evening and night, and the soldiers devoted themselves to the cooking and eating of the provisions which they obtained at Kastro. We heard rumours of skirmishes between them and the men in the cook's galley and the pilgrims, but there was nothing serious enough to disturb the general peace of the ship. On the following morning things took a very different turn. The soldiers seem to have realized that we should reach Mersina in less than twenty-four hours, and that they might have difficulties there with the military Governor of the district. They therefore sent a deputation to the captain, and demanded that he should land them at a place, the name of which I never heard, somewhere to the west of Mersina, where they could disperse, and so escape any unpleasant consequences of their behaviour on board the ship. They went on to say that if he would not do this they would seize him and the ship's officers, and beat them to death with their whips. The captain told the deputation that his ship carried the mails, which had to be delivered at the respective places of call at scheduled times, and that if he stopped the ship at any place not in the time-table he would be discharged, and his certificate cancelled. Personally, he said, he would be willing to land them anywhere, and the sooner the better, but it was quite impossible to do so because he had only three boats, and as he would have to lie to more than two miles from the shore, the landing of the whole body of soldiers would occupy a whole day.

The deputation then returned to their comrades and discussed the captain's answer very angrily. They then broke up into parties, which marched all over the decks, and tried to interfere with the navigation of the ship. One party smashed the compass at the stern, and then tried to drive out the pins which held the rudder-chains to the rudder. Another party caught one of the ship's

officers on his way to the bridge, and seized him and beat him, and locked him up in his cabin. Another party crowded the upper deck, and tried to rush the captain's bridge, but he had barricaded the two ladders by which it was reached from the deck, and they failed. They then laid themselves down on the gangways side by side in rows, like herrings in a box, to prevent the ship's officers and sailors working the ship. Meanwhile White and I and other passengers who had revolvers produced them, and loaded them ostentatiously, and, walking over the bodies of the soldiers as they lay on the deck, we took up positions by the ladders to the bridge. Fortunately for us the soldiers had been shipped without any ammunition, and though they had their rifles with them, their bandoliers were empty. Why the soldiers did not "rush" us, and throw us all overboard and seize the ship, I never understood. The captain stuck to his post on the bridge, and defeated the tactics of the party who were trying to wreck the rudder by keeping the steering-gear continually in motion; in consequence we followed a zig-zag course, for there was nothing else to be done. The soldiers were in possession of the ship, with the exception of the engine-room and the bridge, and we were in a state of siege. This condition of things lasted for several hours, during which the engineers drove the ship along at her highest speed, and then the chief engineer managed to effect a very successful diversion. Whilst we were defending the bridge he had managed to get from his store-room some lengths of wire hose and copper piping, which he jointed together, and passed up to the upper deck, just behind the captain's bridge, through one of the engine-room ventilators. He then connected one end of the piping with a steam-cock from the boiler, and turned on the steam as soon as the captain took the other end in his hands. Thus armed the captain played scalding steam upon the soldiers who were holding us up at the foot of the main ladder, and they jumped up and fled aft. The captain came down from the bridge, and walked about squirting the steam in all directions, and we helped him by dragging the hose

along with him. In this way the soldiers were driven aft, many of them suffering from scalds which made them yell lustily. The ship's officer who was locked up in his cabin was set free, and we were able to get to our cabins. The soldiers had visited our cabins, and carried off the ropes of figs and baskets of provisions; and our razors, scissors, brushes, and many small objects we found no more.

We were not due at Mersina until daylight, but we dropped anchor soon after midnight. The Wālī, or Governor, had been informed by telegraph about the conduct of the soldiers on board our ship, and he sent down officers and a company of soldiers to superintend their disembarkation. They left the ship quietly enough, and marched off into the town in silence. At daylight some of the passengers, finding that the ship would not sail for Alexandretta, the next port of call, till the evening, decided to pay a visit to Tarsūs,¹ the birthplace of the Apostle Paul. As the day was Friday we had no difficulty about the train, and the Persian Consul at Adana shared with us the special accommodation which had been provided for him. We had plenty of time to look about Mersina before we started. The town seemed to have little of interest in it, but we all admired the luxuriant and beautiful gardens, with their groves of fruit trees, which surrounded it. The air was heavy and damp, and

¹ The Tarshish תַּרְשִׁשׁ, *Taršīs*, Tarsus, of the Bible (Isaiah ii, 16; xxiii, 1, 10, 14; lx, 9; Ezek. xxvii, 25; 1 Kings xxii, 49; 2 Chron. xx, 36, 37; Jonah i, 3, etc.). The Assyrian form of the name is (*alu*) "Tarzi," 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵; see Black Obelisk inscription of Shalmaneser II (B.C. 860-826), l. 138 (Face C). From this comes the Aramean ܬܪܫܐ. Yāḫūt (iii, 526) spells the name "Tarasūs"; the local pronunciation was something like "Tersūs." Strabo (xiv, 5, 9), Arrian (Anabasis ii, 5), Athenæus (xii, 39, cf. viii, 14) and other Greek authors mention an Assyrian monument at Anchiale, close to Tarsus; they attribute it to the king they call Sardanapalus (? Ashurbanipal) and give a translation of the cuneiform inscription on it. If this translation is correct the inscription contained the phrase employed by Paul in 1 Corinthians xv, 32, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die"; but the phrase here mentions something else besides eating and drinking, *ἔσθις καὶ πίνε καὶ παύε*.

the people looked as if they suffered from fever habitually. The idleness and effeminacy of the ancient inhabitants of the town were due probably to the enervating character of the climate. Tarsûs is rather less than twenty miles from Mersina, and the railway thither traverses a malarious plain. The climate of Tarsûs seemed to me to be damper than that of Mersina, and very unhealthy. There is nothing about the modern town to remind the visitor of its ancient glories, or of its school of philosophy, and it is hard to understand why the Emperor Augustus should have given it the dignity of a metropolis. It is famous not only as the birthplace of St. Paul, but as the burial-place of Julian the Apostate, and of the Khalifah Al-Ma'mûn, who died at Podendon of a chill caught by bathing in the river Kûshêrah¹ (A.H. 118 = A.D. 736). Alexander the Great was more fortunate than Ma'mûn, for he recovered from the severe fever which bathing in the chill waters of the Cydnus had brought on. The governor of the little town showed us much civility, and but for his kindness we should have been obliged to return to Mersina fasting. In answer to a question of mine, he pointed to various places in the town where "anticas" had been found, but he said they were all small objects, bronze figures of gods, coins, and models of beetles, *i.e.*, scarabs, in stone and glass paste. He had, unfortunately, nothing to show us; the Egyptian "anticas" probably dated from the Saïte and Ptolemaïc Periods, and some of them may have belonged to the time when Cleopatra, in the character of Aphrodite, sailed up the Cydnus in a magnificent barge, and was received at Tarsûs by Mark Antony. The ruins of some fine ancient stone buildings had, he said, been uncovered at a depth of from twelve to twenty feet below the surface, and it is much to be hoped that systematic excavations on both sides of the river may one day be undertaken. We returned to Mersina early in the evening, and as soon as we were on board the ship left for Alexandretta.

A run of a few hours took us across the Bay of

¹ See Mas'ûdi, vii, 1. Kûshêrah is, probably, the Cydnus.

Iskandarûn, the ancient Sinus Issicus, to the comparatively modern town of Iskandarûnah, or Skandarûn, or Alexandretta, which occupies a site at the southern end of the bay, not far from the city of "Little Alexandria," Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ μικρά, which was built by Alexander the Great.¹ The bay is well sheltered, and has always been a popular anchorage for ships of all kinds, but the town as the "seaport of Aleppo" still leaves much to be desired. When Alexander Drummond, British Consul at Aleppo in 1750, passed through Alexandretta he thought the town "so wretched and vile as to be unworthy of notice." He rightly attributed its unhealthiness to the marshes that still lie round about it, and lamented that they could not be drained. He quotes a local tradition which asserts that the Prophet Jonah was cast up at or near Alexandretta, and mentions the existence of a fine spring, about two miles to the south of the town, at which Jacob is supposed to have watered his flocks. I made enquiries about these traditions of Mr. Catoni, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul of Alexandretta, but he had never heard of them. He had heard of the Castle,² which is said to have been built by Godefroy de Bouillon (born 1058, died 1100), but thought that much of its stones had been carried away by the natives to build their houses, and that little more than its foundations was left. We visited the cemetery which was squalid and horrible.³

We arrived at Alexandretta a little before daylight, and soon afterwards Mr. Catoni came on board, and told us that Sir William White had informed him about our journey to Môsul, and that he was ready to do everything in his power to set us on our road. In some mysterious way he had heard of the mutiny of the Turkish soldiers,

¹ According to Willebrand (*Itinerar. Terr. Sanct.*, p. 135) he founded it in honour of his horse Bucephalus.

² Drummond, *Travels*, London, 1754, p. 124.

³ Ainsworth (*Personal Narrative*, vol. i, pp. 16-23) mentions the neglected condition of that portion of the cemetery in which many Europeans lie, and needless to say nothing has been done to protect the European cemetery since Ainsworth saw it. Indeed it would be useless to put up memorial stones, for the natives would steal them.

and the scalding-steam incident, and he told us that our captain had laid up trouble for himself with the local authorities at Alexandretta. Even with Mr. Catoni's help we had considerable difficulty at the Custom House, for our luggage contained medicines, a Bible, a *Kur'ân*, and several other books, saddles, and bridles, etc., and the officials examined the contents of our bullock-trunks with a thoroughness which was quite un-Turkish. They expected "large *bakhshîsh*" from the British Ambassador's son, and when they found that I was the paymaster and that I gave them only what Mr. Catoni advised me to give, they concluded that he and I were in league, and that we were going to share between us what the Eltchi's son would in the ordinary way have given to them.

As White and I were leaving the quay an unfortunate accident happened. In passing between piles of bales and barrels he caught his foot in a wire rope stretched across the path, and fell with some violence headlong. He tried to save himself by clutching at one of the barrels, but only succeeded in throwing his whole weight on one leg, which doubled up under him as he fell. We lifted him up, but the pain in one leg was so great that he could not stand, and when he was able to speak he told us that he had injured the knee two or three years before when playing football, and that it always "gave way" whenever any undue strain was put upon it. We sent for a doctor who examined the knee, and applied lotion and a compress, and said that he might leave Alexandretta that day if he would not make his horse canter or gallop. As White absolutely refused to stay for a day or two and rest, I hired horses, and bought food for our journey to Aleppo. Mr. Catoni introduced us to M. Poché, a French merchant, and to Mr. Heffter, an official of the Turkish Régie, both of whom were about to start for Aleppo that afternoon, and we agreed to travel together. Mr. Heffter had arranged to take a Turkish soldier with him as escort, and he suggested that I had better take another as the country between Bêlân and 'Afrîn was in a "disturbed" state. He thought it quite possible that if the natives

in the Bêlân Pass knew that White was the British Ambassador's son they might give us trouble in order to extract *bakhshîsh* from us. Mr. Catoni gave us all the help he could in making our arrangements, and we left Alexandretta for Bêlân at three o'clock in the afternoon.

We followed the ancient caravan track across the plain to the foot of the hills, and found riding uncomfortably hot; but as soon as we entered the Bêlân Pass, some three miles before we reached the village of Bêlân, we met a strong and bitterly cold wind, which chilled us to the bone. On the right ran the modern road to Aleppo, which had been recently constructed, and was some thirty miles longer than the caravan road, which we intended to follow the whole way to Aleppo. Extensive forests of oak and pine trees lay on each side of the road, and the peeps of distant scenery which we had from time to time revealed very beautiful rolling country, well wooded and well watered. A mile or two from Bêlân the road ran in a deep cutting in the rock, and soon after we entered it we saw the village itself, which presented a very remarkable sight. The houses, which were chiefly built of wood, stood in a series of steps, which rose one above the other and entirely covered the sides of the mountain.¹ There were many trees round about them, and between many of them streams of sparkling water flowed down quickly and noisily, like so many cascades, and ran down the side of the road. The wind dropped soon after we stopped at the Khân, and the air, though decidedly fresh, was very pleasant. We had covered the ten miles between Alexandretta and Bêlân in about one and a half hours, and we had plenty of time to look about the village before nightfall. Many of the houses on the hill-side were the property of merchants of

¹ Of Bêlân, which he calls Byland, the Rev. Henry Teonge, Chaplain on H.M.S. "Assistance," 1675-79, says: "'Tis a very strange built towne, standing uppon cliffs of rocks; on house as it were on the top of another, for 6 or 7 houses high; like pigion holes at a house end: so that it is a very difficult thing to finde the passage from on house to another, and as dangerouse for a man to goe it when he hath found it." (*Diary*, London, 1825, p. 153.)

Alexandretta, who spent their summer holidays there. We found good accommodation for ourselves and the soldiers and horses in the Khân, but the noise of the mountain streams broke our sleep.

We started at 6.30 the next morning, and about an hour later we reached the top of the Bêlân Pass, and saw the "Baḥrat Anṭâkiyah," or "Lake of Antioch," lying below us. Half an hour later we passed the guard-house at the entrance of the road to Antioch, and in two hours more we reached Khân Diârbakarli. We then entered the Plain of Antioch (which is in reality the bed of an old lake, and is now called "Al-'Amḳ," *i.e.*, "the Deep"), and saw many mounds which probably contained ruins of houses of some kind.¹ We had plenty of time to admire the scenery all round us, for the track disappeared in pools of mud and water, and the poor beasts carrying our

¹ "A rich soyle, and a plaine of at least 50 miles longe, full of fish and strange foules; and grasse almost up to the horse bellys, but no beasts to eate it, save here and there a few buffeloes; a strange kind of beast; his body is as big as an ox, color black, but the head and horns standing forward, hogg-like, and very ugly. These the people use as we doe cowes, of which there are very few." Teonge, *Diary*, p. 154. On p. 161 Mr. Teonge gives the following information about the pelican:

"In the plaines of Antioch there were thousands of these foule [pelicans] in a company, which at the first sight I tooke for greate flocks of sheepe. They are very white, and far bigger than a swann, and are an absolute water foule; they are very stronge of winge, and will mount so high, till they lessen to the biggnes of a small hawke. Under their beake, which is halfe a yard long, or rather just in their throate, they have a greate allforge [*i.e.*, الفرج, a gap], or bagg, which will holde 2 gallons of water. These foule keepe together in greate companys, in the plaines of Antioch; but all the summer time, but especially in the hottest time of all, they single themselves, and fill their pouch or buckett with water, carrying also many fishes therein for their owne provision; and mounting a greate height in the ayre, they flye singly into the desarts of Arabia, where the small birds will com about them like chickens about a henn, for water, which this foule will distribute among them; and when all his store is spent, he returns to his old place, and haveing stayd a while, goes againe as before. The Turks call him the charitable bird." The common Arabic name for the pelican is *sakkāyah*, سَكَاة, *i.e.*, the "water carrier."

baggage came on very slowly through them. At noon we halted at the bridge over the Karasû, or "Black Water River," which flows through the Lake of Antioch, and empties itself into the Orontes. We started again at 1.30, but very soon after had to halt again because one of the horses, exhausted by his struggles in the mud of the Plain of Antioch, broke down near 'Ain al-Bêdâ, and we had to distribute his load among the other animals. Two hours later we came to Al-Hammâm, where there was a hot sulphur spring, and we intended to stay there for the night.¹ Whilst making arrangements to do this, we were advised by the Turkish officer in charge of the place to press on and to get across the river 'Afrîn that night, as there had been rain, and its waters were rising. If we failed to do this we should have to take to the high road, which, as I have said, was newly made, and was many miles longer than the caravan route which we wished to follow. We therefore rode on again, and in a little more than an hour came to the 'Afrîn,² which was rising rapidly, but we forded it without any mishap, and managed to get our baggage across dry. Having found quarters in the little Khân 'Afrîn, and arranged with the *khânjî*, or keeper of the Khân, to cook our supper, we went to see after the horse which had broken down on the

¹ Here we saw the women making butter, or rather cheese, as Mr. Teonge saw them, and though none of them was dressed as finely as the Arabian lady of whom he speaks, the general description which he gives of her was suitable to many of them. He says: "This Arabian lady was tall and very slender, very swarthy of complexion, and very thinn faced; as they all generally; haveing nothing on but a thinn loose garment, a kinde of a gyrdle about her middle, and the garment open before. She had a ringe in her left nostrill . . . at each eare a round globe as bigg as a tennis ball, shining like gold. . . . She had also gold chaines about her wrists, and the smalls of her naked leggs. Her nayles of her fingers were coloured almost redd, and her lipps coloured as blew as indego; and so also was her belly from the navill to her hamms, painted with blew like branches of trees, or strawbery leaves." (*Diary*, p. 155.)

² Called "Ephraim" by Mr. Teonge. In it with a "casting nett" he took "2 fishes, of which on was a foote long, and much like a chubb."

road. He was very much exhausted, and from a hint which one of our soldiers gave us we found that the mukêrî, or owner and chief driver of our little caravan, had given him very little food that day, and that the poor beast was suffering from exhaustion caused by hunger. The mukêrî said that the charge made for corn at Khâns was so great that he could only afford to buy a little, and then added, "I poor man, what to do?" The soldiers confirmed his statement, and finally we agreed to pay for a good feed of corn for all the horses both that evening and the following morning, and we took care that they got what we paid for, and watched them eat it.

We left the Khân at 'Afrîn the following morning, December 24th, about five o'clock. There was bright moonlight, and a clear sky with brilliant stars, which seemed to be detached from their blue background; but it was bitterly cold, and when the sun rose we were thankful. We passed Turmânîn about nine o'clock, and about an hour later saw on our right a plain covered with ruins of stone buildings,¹ and having sent on our baggage animals we rode to the ruins. I had never heard of them before, and much wanted a couple of hours to examine them, but my fellow-travellers were unwilling to spend more than half an hour on them, because it was all-important to reach Aleppo if possible before nightfall. We reached Tokat about eleven, and halted for our mid-day meal. A Turkish farmer insisted on our coming into his house, and his daughters boiled water to make our coffee, and brought us some milk. He provided dry food

¹ Mr. Teonge's description of the route here cannot be bettered. He says: "Such way as I never rod, nor ever heard of till I cam thither: nor could I have thought any horse, or other beast, carrying any load, could possibly have gon over such a place. In som places you ascend a steepe hill for a mile together, and somtimes descend as steepe, and as far; somtimes you passe over broade stones, as slippery as glasse, for 20 yards together; and somtimes goeing in and out, turning about greate stones, and stepping over others; and somtimes goeing up or down steps of slippery stones, like walls, able to throe, or breake the leggs of any beast; such travelling as I could not have believed had I not seene it." (*Diary*, p. 156.)

and water for the horses, made the soldiers eat with him, and seemed truly glad to see European strangers. When, on leaving, we offered him modest remuneration for his services, he took the money, and, opening my hand, placed it back in it, saying that it would be a "shame" to him to take money for what he felt bound to do for us, and that we had "kissed his eyes" (*i.e.*, given him intense pleasure) by visiting his house; and, he added, to-night is festival night of the birth of your Prophet Jesus (on Whom be peace!) Why will not the Bâshâwât (*i.e.*, Pâshâs, or gentlemen) sit down here for three days in my house? We were in a difficulty. We could not leave him without giving him a gift of some sort, but as he refused money we hardly knew what to do. But a little experience gained that very year in Mesopotamia helped me, and I remembered that every Muslim in the desert longs for two things, a *warwar* (revolver) and an *ibrah* (compass), the former to protect his body, and the latter to help him to save his soul by saying his prayers in the right direction towards Makkah. Fortunately I had provided myself with several pocket compasses, which were intended for the Arabs near Baghdâd, and when I produced one of these and gave it to our host, his extravagant expressions of thanks showed that the right thing had been done.

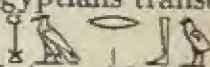
We left Tokat at 1.30, and two hours later we saw in the far distance the castle of Aleppo, which stood on rising ground, and seemed to be a large and imposing building. We pushed on as fast as we could, but the castle appeared to recede as we advanced, and we did not reach the bridge over the river Kûwêk until an hour after sunset. We were recommended to go to an hotel kept by an Armenian, and we did so, but the worst Khân we had seen on the road was cleaner, and we decided not to stay. M. Poché was so kind as to recommend us to a Frenchman who was willing to put his house at the disposal of "English milors," and when he learned who White was he assigned us rooms, and did all he could to make us comfortable. The house was of stone, and one-storeyed, and was built round a courtyard, in which were

a fountain and a mass of shrubs and fruit trees. The rooms were very clean, and the furniture was French and old, and, according to our host, dated from the time of his forebears, who were employed in the factory of one of the British Levant Companies at Aleppo.¹ Branches of evergreens were nailed to the whitewashed walls of the little dining-room, and madame placed a small bunch of sweet-smelling herbs by our plates, because, she said, it was Christmas Eve. Before dinner was over an equerry and some soldiers rode into the yard bearing a message to White from Hasan Pâshâ, the Governor of Aleppo, saying that owing to an attack of sickness he was unable to pay his respects in person to His Excellency the son of the British Ambassador, but that the equerry whom he had sent with the message was entirely at his disposal during his stay in Aleppo. White said that he wanted a Turkish bath above all things, and went with the equerry to seek for one. After he had had his bath, the equerry took him to his mess, and introduced him to his brother officers, and as he did not return till the morning, I assumed that he enjoyed himself.

The following morning, Christmas Day, our host woke me up and told me that Hasan Pâshâ had sent his chief dragoman and four of his servants, who were ordered to help me to do whatever I had to do in Aleppo, and to show us the town. Almost at the same time the British Consul, Mr. A. T. Jago, arrived with two or three of his staff, and offered us any assistance we might require. He invited us to spend the afternoon and dine with him, and suggested that as it was Christmas Day I had better not attempt to make any preparations for my further journey, but go about and see the town. I accepted, and then interviewed the dragoman, and asked him to present my grateful thanks to Hasan Pâshâ, and to tell

¹ See the very interesting paper on "Old Caravan Roads in the East," by F. D. Harford in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, 1918, p. 97 ff. There was a comparatively large British colony in Aleppo in 1676, for Mr. Teonge preached on May 7th a sermon on Psalm lxvi, 13, to 50 "English men" in the factory, and after that dined with 10 more at Mr. Sherman's house. (*Diary*, p. 160.)


him that White and myself would do ourselves the honour of paying him a visit on the following day, as we had already engaged ourselves to Mr. Jago for the day. When we were dressed, and had breakfasted, White went off under the charge of a couple of Hasan Pâshâ's soldiers to keep an appointment he had made with the officers at the Citadel, or Castle, and Mr. Jago and I set out to look at the town.
































































































































































































































































































































































































The town of Aleppo¹ owes its importance entirely to its geographical position, and for several thousands of years a town has always occupied its site. The present name, Aleppo, is a Europeanized form of the Arabic name "Halab," which has no connection whatever with the Arabic word for "milk,"² but is merely a transcript of the indigenous name of the town. In the reign of Thothmes III (about B.C. 1500) the Egyptians transcribed the name by "Kharbu," or "Khalbu," ³ and in the reign of Shalmaneser II (B.C. 860-826) the

¹ See Russell, *Natural History of Aleppo*, London, 1794; also Teonge's description in his *Diary* (p. 173):

"It is a very ancient cytty, as the buildings sufficiently shew. The Arabians call it Halep, which signifys milke; indeed it lookes very white afarr off; in regard the topps of the houses are tarras. But this cytty was built by Halepius a King there, as the tradition goes, which therefore neare his name called Aleppo; but I could not see or heare of any of his monuments there. 'Tis 4 miles in compas, and invironed with a very high wall, which is much decayd all most in all parts of it; in which are severall fayre gatehouses, especially two of them like little castles. The streets are very narrow, and full of corners and turnings, and paved with flatt stones. The buildings are many of them very statly, but much ruinated all over the cytty; in the midst of which there are severall large streets arched over the topp like to a bridge, no light coming in save only at som small holes on the very topp, or at the greate gates which are at the ends. These places are called the bazar, or markett place. . . . Their moskues are stately places; . . . we must not go into them. Nay, their very women are not suffered to com into them. . . ."

² The Arabic legend is quoted in Yâkût's account of Aleppo (ii, p. 314).

³ This is the form given by Amenemheb, in his tomb at Kurnah; see Lepsius, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1873, p. 1 ff. The sign  means "country," "district," and Harbu here means the city and its environs.

Assyrians transcribed it by "Khal-man," or "Khal-ban,"                                                            

                                                            

                                                            

                                                            

                                                            

                                                            

                 

middle of the town, and probably stands upon the same site as the most important buildings in all the earlier towns which existed here before Seleucus Nicator (B.C. 312-280) built Beroea. There was only one entrance to the castle, viz., on the south side, and the gateway here is a magnificent specimen of Arab building and decoration. The Christians, Jews and Muslims live in separate quarters of the town. The houses are low, and built of stone, and most of the streets are paved. As I remember Aleppo, it was the cleanest Turkish town I have ever seen.

The most important mosque is that of Zacharias, which contains the tomb of Zacharias, the father of St. John the Baptist. The great minaret dates from the XIIIth century. The bazâr was filled chiefly with European goods, and this is not to be wondered at. The English began to trade on a large scale with Turkey in 1550, and the first Levant Company of London was instituted by Charter of Elizabeth in 1579.¹ Other Levant Companies were formed in the seventeenth century, and they sent out chaplains² to minister to the spiritual needs of their servants in many parts of the Levant, and the Government appointed Consuls to protect their trade. In 1695 the Rev. Henry Maundrell (born 1665, died 1701) was appointed chaplain at Aleppo, and when he arrived there he found an English colony of forty persons for whom he performed divine service every morning.³ Thus it is clear that there were many English

¹ The name of Aleppo was well known to the English at this time, and we even find it in Shakespeare (*Macbeth*, I, 3), who makes the First Witch say that the "master of the Tiger" has sailed there. There is no evidence to show that Shakespeare thought Aleppo was a seaport; the port of Aleppo was Alexandretta, and it has always been reckoned and called so.

² One of these, Dr. Huntingdon, made a gallant attempt to visit Palmyra in 1678. He was accompanied by Timothy Lannoy (probably the son of the Mr. Lannoy who was British Consul before Mr. Nitingale) and Aaron Goodyear. Teonge mentions (*Diary*, p. 165) that Mr. Huntingdon "preacht a farewell sermon" on the departure of Captains Browne, Ashby, Hussy and Sherman, and that he took his text from Genesis xxxii, 9, "Return unto thy country."

³ Pearson, *Levant Chaplains*, pp. 18, 24, 58.

merchants in Aleppo in the seventeenth century.¹ The Dutch also established a factory at Aleppo, and their trade in textile fabrics was very large. Little by little western influence made itself felt in the native manufactures of silks and stuffs, and it has never declined.

In going through the town it was impossible not to notice how many of the inhabitants had suffered from attacks of the "Aleppo button," or the "boil of a year," as the natives call it. The earliest account of the disease was given by Russell in 1756, and he reports that the inhabitants believed it to be caused by the drinking water, but Virchow thought it might be caused by a parasite. This "Oriental sore" (*Dermal Leishmaniasis*, as it is called by Castellani and Chalmers)² attacks the uncovered parts of the body, feet, legs, arms, hands and face, but it is rarely seen on the palms or soles or scalp. It attacks people of any race, sex and age if they expose themselves to the infection. The eruption lasts several months, and leaves behind very noticeable scars. It is communicated by direct infection, and insects, especially flies, play some part in its transmission.

The following morning, December 26th, White and I spent in hiring horses for our journey to Môsul. Mr. Jago and one of his staff helped us, and drew up the contract, and before noon we secured five horses, three mules and a donkey, and made arrangements for them to be kept idle and well fed until we were ready to start. In the afternoon we visited Hasan Pâshâ, the Governor, who received us with great ceremony, and the guard of honour which had been drawn up at the gate presented arms to White, and salutes were fired as he entered the castle. The Pâshâ was an elderly man, with a benevolent face, and he asked many questions about Sir William White, whom he knew well, and for whom he seemed to have a genuine regard. He told us that he had sent out a squadron of cavalry to escort us into the town, but that the officer failed to find us, and so returned to Aleppo at

¹ The Travels of Pietro della Valle (I. 330 ff.) and Rauwolf (p. 57 ff.) contain many proofs of this fact.

² Chalmers, *Manual of Tropical Medicine*, p. 1548.

sunset. I was devoutly thankful that such had been the case, for courtesies of this kind cost a good deal of money. He spoke to me in Arabic, and carefully enquired into the object of our journey, and when I told him that we were going to dig for antiquities he said that he hoped we should find very much gold and "old money." He offered to send an escort of twenty soldiers with us—to me a perfectly terrifying suggestion—but after a good deal of talk he promised to send with us two good men, who had escorted travellers to Mârdîn on several occasions. When I told him that we proposed to travel viâ Urfah, Mârdîn, Naşîbîn (Nisibis) and Jazirat ibn 'Omar to Môsul, he told his secretary to prepare a *buyûruldî*, ordering all governors to render us all assistance possible. He assured us that we need have no fear, that all highway thieves had been shot, and that the Arabs in the desert praised God daily Who permitted them to live in the world at the same time as His Majesty 'Abd al-Hamid (here he bowed low). When White had paid him some pretty compliments in Turkish (he called him the Sultân's right hand, a deep well of mercy, a sea of compassion, the refuge of the needy, the hope of the afflicted, the bulwark of the oppressed, the father of his town, etc.) we took our leave.

The third day, December 27th, of our stay in Aleppo we devoted chiefly to purchasing food and hiring a servant, and the latter proved to be a very difficult business. I asked Mr. Jago to recommend a man, and he refused point blank, saying that he had been so foolish as to recommend servants to travellers twice, and that on each occasion he was abused by the hirers and cursed by the hired, and that he would never recommend a guide, a dragoman, or a servant again. Several men came to see me at the Consulate, and proclaimed their merits. Each of them had a sheaf of testimonials, which stated that he was a true Christian, and knew many languages, and possessed every virtue under the sun. Among the applicants was a Sûdânî man from Wâdî Halfah, who could only speak Arabic, and who was, of course, a Muslim. He was quiet, did not push himself, and had

only one testimonial. We both liked his strong, good-natured face, and admired his fine physique, and we chose him, and he served us well.

When all these matters were settled, Mr. Jago took me to the Christian cemetery¹ to visit the grave of George Smith, the great Assyriologist of the British Museum. In direct opposition to the advice of his friends, Smith persisted in travelling during the month of July from Baghdād to Aleppo. When he arrived at Birejik, on the Euphrates, and was about four days' journey from Aleppo, he fell ill, and medical help was summoned from Aleppo. Mr. Parsons found him lying dangerously ill at İkisjah, on August 13th, 1876, but he constructed a *takhtarwân*, or portable bed, for him, and managed to bring him by night journeys two days nearer Aleppo. I was told at Aleppo that Smith did not provision himself properly for his journey, and that for some days before he reached Birejik he had been living on native bread and dried dates entirely. And he had no medicines with him, and when dysentery attacked him he had no means of fighting it. On August 16th he became very much weaker, and for want of suitable food and medicine he gradually sank and died on the 19th. Mr. Parsons carried his body into Aleppo, and laid him in the cemetery of the Levant Company. The Trustees sent out two massive rectangular granite slabs to lay upon his grave, and ordered it to be suitably enclosed and provided with a railing. But very soon after the slabs were fixed and the railing erected, some natives stole the railing for the sake of the metal, and they would have stolen the slabs also, only they found them too heavy to carry away. Railing after railing was put up, and it was always stolen, and the slabs were at length taken to the garden of the British Consulate, where I saw them lying. Subsequently a special arrangement was made with the Governor by the British Consul, and the slabs were replaced on the grave, where they certainly were in 1900,

¹ It was made by the first Levant Company, and many English, French, and a few Dutch merchants were buried there.

in which year Mr. R. Kirkpatrick, of the British Museum (Natural History), took photographs of them.

Early on Friday, December 28th, we began to pack up our things, and as soon as the muḳêrî and his helpers, and the two soldiers who were to escort us, had performed their devotions in their respective mosques, we set out on the road for Urfah, intending to journey thither by way of Manbij and Jarâbis (Eurôpos). For the first few miles the road from Aleppo was good, but we soon lost it, and the "Darb as-Sultânî," or "king's highway," became nothing but a confused network of mule tracks. About two o'clock snow began to fall, and the wind was bitterly cold; at four it became so dark and it snowed so heavily that we gave up all idea of reaching Manbij that night, and looked about for some native house where we could shelter. Very soon the snow covered up the tracks, but one of the soldiers knew the district, and guided us to a long low stone building, with openings in the walls near the roof, and there we settled down for the night. The whole of the building was roofed over, and we saw that it was used as a shelter for cattle in weather such as had overtaken us. The master of this house was very obliging, and helped to feed the animals and to dry our dripping garments. At one end of the building was a long low maṣṭabah, or bench, built of stone plastered with mud, which served as the dining and bedroom of himself and his wives and family. He led us to this, and lighted a fire on it for us to cook our meal, and we laid out our camp beds there. After we had eaten he and his two wives and several children appeared, and took up places around us for the night, and when they were settled one or two sheep and several chickens made their way on to the bench, and considered themselves at home there. The soldiers and the muḳêrî and their friends lighted a fire at the other end of the building, and talked for hours. The smoke from their fire and ours made the air hot and stifling, and sleep was impossible.

With the first streak of dawn (December 29th) we disturbed the slumbers of the occupants of the bench,

and found that the soldiers were eager to be gone; but it was snowing hard, and we waited for a break in the weather. This came about ten o'clock, when we set out for Manbij, and we reached it early in the afternoon. Manbij is the Arabic form¹ of "Mabbôgh," the name by which Syrian Christians called the city of Bambyce (Βαμβύκη). Of its primitive history nothing is known.² Bambyce was founded in very early times, and it was famous as one of the principal shrines of Astarte, a Syrian form of the Assyrian goddess Ishtar. It was called "Hierapolis" by Seleucus Nicator, and under his fostering influence became a central market of great importance. Under Constantine it became the capital of the Euphrates Province, and Julian made it the point of concentration for the Roman troops when about to begin his campaign in Persia. Whilst Julian was entering the city gates a portico on the left fell down and killed many soldiers who were passing under it (Ammianus XXIII, 2, 6). Its name of "Hierapolis" fell into disuse in the VIth century. It escaped pillage by paying a heavy tribute to Chosroes, and was conquered by the Emperor Romanus IV Diogenes in 1068, and submitted to the

¹ See Yâkût, iv, 654; Abû'l-Fidâ, p. 271.

² Henry Maundrell (*An Account of the Author's Journey from Aleppo to the River Euphrates*, p. 1) describes "Bambyeh" thus: "This place has no remnants of its ancient greatness but in walls, which may be traced all round, and cannot be less than three miles in compass. Several fragments of them remain on the east side, especially at the east gate; and another piece of 80 yards long, with towers of large square stone extremely well built. On the north side I found a stone with the busts of a man and woman, large as the life, and under, two eagles carved on it. Not far from it, on the side of a large well, was fixed a stone with three figures carved on it, in *basso rilievo*. They were two syrens, which twining their fishy tails together, made a seat, on which was placed sitting a naked woman, her arms and the syrens' on each side mutually entwined. On the west side is a deep pit of about 100 yards diameter. It was low, and had water in it, and seemed to have had great buildings all round it, with the pillars and ruins of which it is now in part filled up; but not so much but that there was still water in it. Here are a multitude of subterranean aqueducts brought to this city; the people attested no fewer than fifty."

Turks when they took possession of Aleppo in 1517.¹ Our soldiers found a native who agreed to give us shelter for the night, and when the animals had been attended to, White and I set out to see the ruins. The remains of the walls showed that the form of the town was rectangular, and that its greater axis lay from west to east. The walls were of limestone, and were very strong, and were flanked by massive towers, and we found the remains of at least seven gates. In the south-west corner, close to one of the walls, was the sacred lake, which was used in connection with the worship of Astarte. There were very few remains of the Græco-Syrian city of Hierapolis visible, but I believe the site would well repay excavation. Of the old Arab town or quarter the most prominent ruin was a high square tower, which seemed to be the work of the twelfth or thirteenth century. Manbij must have enjoyed considerable prosperity under the Arabs, for the remains of many mosques lay outside the walls. We obtained a good general view of the ruins from a low hill about two miles to the east, and in fact of the whole plain on which the city stood. The modern village is inhabited by Circassians, who managed to quarrel with our soldiers before we left the place; but this was not to be wondered at considering the conditions under which the Circassians were settled at Manbij by the Turkish Government in 1878.

We left Manbij very early the following morning (Sunday, December 30th), for I was extremely anxious to get out of the place. Whilst White and I were exploring the ruins the soldiers had been talking freely to the Circassians and some of the Arabs, and telling them who White was. When we returned to our house at sundown, both Circassians and Arabs made deputations to him, and begged him to send the petitions which they had drawn up to his father in Constantinople. The local Governor (ka'im maḥām) and the soldiers disliked these

¹ Its ruins have been described by Maundrell, *An Account*, p. 204; Pococke, *Description of the East*, vol. ii, p. 166; Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i, p. 516; Sachau, *Reise*, p. 147 f.

proceedings very much, and I feared trouble. Being of a generous, chivalrous disposition, White was ready to take the petitions and please the villagers, and it was only after I convinced him that his interference in local matters in this way would only embarrass his father that he excused himself from the task. A couple of hours' ride brought us to the village of Bôz Zêj, and then, travelling through a valley between low stone hills, we reached the river Sâjûr, which we crossed without difficulty. We rested on the hill on the west bank of the Sâjûr for an hour, and then set out for the ruins of Şrêşât, which we did not find very interesting. The general view of Şrêşât suggested to me that the place was a fortress, and the remains of a great tank, which is hollowed out of the rock to a depth of twenty-five feet at least, seem to indicate that those who lived there could not always get access to the Euphrates to draw water. The sides of this tank were lined with massive bricks, the like of which I have never seen elsewhere. We rode over the hill in a north-easterly direction until we came to the Euphrates, at a point just opposite to the southern end of a large island in the river. We then turned almost due north, and rode for two hours on level ground between a range of hills on the west and the river on the east, and then crossed a little stream and arrived at Jarâbîs in the late afternoon. We found the village of Jarâbîs a little to the west of the Euphrates, and the headman of it put two huts at our disposal, and brought wood and dried dung to make a fire, and showed us much civility. By the time we had arranged our affairs for the night it was too dark to visit the ruins of the city or town of *Εὐρωπός*, or *Ἰρωπός*,¹ which lay close by on the right bank of the Euphrates, and we deferred our inspection of them until the morning.

In the course of the evening I made many enquiries, with the view of finding out what the natives called the place, and one and all said it was "Jarâbîs." It is quite certain that this was the name which the place bore

¹ The *πάλις Ἰρωπός* of Stephen of Byzantium.

when Richard Pococke (born 1704, died 1765) visited it about 1738, for he transcribes it by "Jerabees."¹ An older form of the name is "Jarbâs," as we know from Yâkût,² and both Hoffmann³ and Wright⁴ regarded Jarâbîs as a plural of Jarbâs, and were undoubtedly correct. Sachau also made enquiries of the natives, and found that the natives always called the place Jarâbîs.⁵ Now Henry Maundrell visited Jarâbîs, and described the sculptures which he saw there in 1699, and he called the ruins "Jerabolus."⁶ He does not say that this was the native name, and there is no reason for assuming that it was, or even that the natives knew it. It is, however, probable that he thought the ruins were those of Hierapolis, or Bambyce, and therefore gave them the name of "Jerabolus." Drummond, British Consul at Aleppo in the middle of the eighteenth century, made a map of the ruins of "Jerabolus," and described them; and but for the fact that he knew that Julian set out on his Persian campaign from Hierapolis, he would have accepted Maundrell's view that Jarâbîs was Hierapolis "from the similarity of names."⁷ Niebuhr's opinion on the matter is unknown, for he never went to Jarâbîs, and in adding "Jerabolus" to his map he must have followed the reports of earlier travellers. When Buckingham was in Bîr he "made many enquiries after the ruins of Hierapolis, now called Yerabolus, but no one knew of such a place, although it is certainly less than a short

¹ *Description of the East*, vol. ii, p. 166. It is true that he also uses Maundrell's name, "Jerabolus," in speaking of the place, but this was because it represented the worship of the god ירחבעל or ירחבול.

² *Mu'jam*, vol. ii, p. 688.

³ *Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 162.

⁴ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, iii, p. 58.

⁵ *Reise*, pp. 166, 167.

⁶ *Journey from Aleppo to the River Euphrates, the City Beer, etc.* Oxford, 1714 (3rd ed.), p. 3.

⁷ We may note in passing that the correct identification of the site of Bambyce-Hierapolis-Manbij was made by Chesney.

⁸ *Travels through . . . and several Parts of Asia as far as the Banks of the Euphrates*, London, 1754, p. 208.

day's journey from this town."¹ The mistake of Maundrell was perpetuated by Chesney, who places on his map "Jerâbulus" ruins, and "Jerâbulus" village; but as Hoffmann says, Chesney was "in solchen Dingen nie genau." As to the name Jarâbîs, or its older form Jirbâs, both are derived from the name Aghrôpôs, or Aghripôs, which represents the Syriac ܐܓܪܦܐ, i.e., *Eûρωπος*, by the well-known change of *v* into *g*, which is also found in Turkish.² So long ago as 1876, Nöldeke recognized Aghrôpôs as the original of the Arabic name "Jirbâs."³ In short, the application of the name "Jerabolus" or "Jerablus" to the ruins of Jarâbîs is due to a blunder made and perpetuated by modern travellers.⁴

Early the following morning, December 31st, White and I went to the ruins, and passing through the gateway in the western wall walked up to the mound of the "Castle of Jarâbîs," the top of which was well over one hundred feet above the river. The view from it was very fine, and it was possible to distinguish the general contour of one or more of the cities that must have succeeded each other upon the site, which ran parallel with the Euphrates. We saw the trenches which Mr. Henderson, British Consul at Aleppo, had cut during his excavations, both those towards the top of the mound and those about three hundred feet to the south, but it was very evident that he had stopped work before the site was cleared. Some of the men who had worked for him came with us, and pointed out the places whence he dug out the basalt

¹ *Travels*, vol. i, p. 54.

² This has been proved by Hoffmann (*Auszüge*, p. 161), and Wright (*P.S.B.A.*, vol. iii, p. 59).

³ Quoted by Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, p. 161).

⁴ Mr. Hogarth's theory of a migration of Arabs and Turks from Bambyce-Manbij does not affect this fact; see *Carchemish*, Pt. I, London, 1914, p. 25. Ainsworth says (*Personal Narrative*, vol. i, p. 221) that the natives call Jarâbîs 'Jerabûlûs,' and is inclined to think that Jerabolus is a modification of Eurôpus, just as it is of Hierapolis. Lord Pollington thought that the names of the two cities (Hierapolis and Eurôpus) had been confounded; see *Jnl. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, vol. x, p. 453.

pillar-relief and slabs now in the British Museum. In other parts of the site they showed me portions of walls made of slabs of basalt, which were just visible, and told me that Mr. Henderson had not known of them.¹ Having gone over these places carefully, and examined others along the river front, I came to the conclusion that there was enough excavating to be done there to occupy a very large number of men for a couple of years at least.

Maundrell's account of Jarâbîs is as follows: "This place is of a semicircular figure, its flat side lying on the banks of Euphrates; on that side it has a high long Mount, close by the water, very steep. It was anciently built upon; and at one end of it I saw fragments of very large Pillars, a yard and half diameter, and Capitals and Cornishes well carved. At the foot of the Mount was carved on a large stone a Beast resembling a Lyon,² with a bridle in his mouth; and I believe anciently a Person sitting on it: But the stone is in that part now broke away; the Tail of the Beast was Couped. Round about this place are high banks cast up, and there is the foot-steps of walls on them. The gates seem to have been well built. The whole was 2,250 paces,³ that is yards in circumference. The river is here as large as the Thames


¹ That same evening at Birejik I wrote an account of all I had seen and heard at Jarâbîs, and sent it to the Principal Librarian, and begged him to discuss with Rawlinson the possibility of renewing excavations there. For nearly twenty years nothing was done, but in 1907 the Principal Librarian revived the scheme of excavating Jarâbîs, and I urged him to finish clearing that site, and reminded him of what I had seen and heard there in 1888. In 1908 Mr. D. G. Hogarth went to Syria, and having examined the mounds of Jarâbîs, and Tall Ahmar, and Tall Bashar, he concluded that the mound of Jarâbîs "both contained more than the other sites and represented a more important Hittite centre" (*Carchemish*, p. 12). The Trustees of the British Museum obtained a permit in 1910 to dig at Jarâbîs, and entrusted the work to Mr. Hogarth, who set out for Syria with two assistants in 1911. The plates with which the first part of his *Report* is illustrated supply abundant proof of the correctness of the information which I supplied to the Principal Librarian in 1888.

² This is the famous "Lion Slab" cleared by Henderson in 1879 (Hogarth, *Carchemish*, p. 7). Drummond failed to find this slab.

³ Smith's estimate made it 8,000 feet round.

at London; a long bullet gun could not shoot a ball over it, but it dropt into the water. Here is found a large Serpent¹ which has legs and claws, called *Woralla*." Pococke's description² is more general than Maundrell's. Drummond's is very brief, and though he says that "nothing can be gathered from the ruins of the town," he took the trouble to draw a plan of it,³ which he published, together with a drawing of the figure on the above-mentioned pillar-relief,⁴ now in the British Museum.

The importance of the ruins of Jarâbîs, archæologically, is due to the fact that they represent the remains of an important Hittite town, and that they probably occupy the site of the ancient city of Carchemish⁵ (Isaiah x, 9; 2 Chronicles, xxxv, 20). The inscriptions cut on the slabs found here show that the Hittites used a system of picture-writing, but they cannot at present be read, and their contents are therefore unknown. The decipherment of the Hittite characters has not yet been effected, and no translation can be made until a bilingual inscription is found in which one of the texts is written in some known language. Pending the discovery of the necessary bilingual inscription, Mr. Hogarth has done good work in publishing the twenty-seven plates of facsimiles of Hittite texts which accompany the first part of his "Report" on the excavations which he made at Jarâbîs for the Trustees of the British Museum. The credit of identifying Jarâbîs with Carchemish is due to W. H. Skene, British Consul at Aleppo, and his identification was adopted and confirmed by George Smith, of the

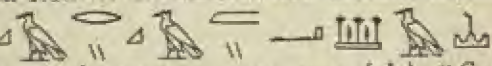
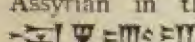


¹ *Journey from Aleppo*, p. 3. The "serpent" to which he refers is, of course, the *waral*, , a large venomous lizard or monitor.

² *Description*, vol. ii, Pt. I, p. 166.

³ *Travels*, No. 13, plate facing p. 201.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 15, plate facing p. 197.

⁵ The Egyptian form of the name in the fifteenth century B.C. was

"Qarqamâsha"  and the Assyrian in the ninth century B.C. was (*alu*) "Gar-ga-mish" . The Hebrew is , which, as Hoffmann thinks, may represent , or "Town of Mish."

British Museum.¹ Mr. Skene was a man possessing considerable classical knowledge, and was greatly interested in the ancient history of the countries to which his duty called him. Some leading archæologists in the "seventies," e.g., Maspero, basing their view upon the reading of 2 Chronicles xxxv, 20, in the Pêshîttâ version of the Old Testament, believed that Manbij was the site of the city of Carchemish; but Skene rejected this view, and thought that the remains of Carchemish were to be found at Jarâbîs. Smith returned to England in the late spring of 1874 by way of Aleppo, and it is possible that he visited Jarâbîs before he reached Aleppo, and talked the matter over with Skene, who may have told him his own opinion.² Smith visited Jarâbîs twice in 1876, and there is no doubt that at that time he identified Jarâbîs with Carchemish. The historical facts summarized by Mr. Hogarth (*Carchemish*, p. 13) leave little room for reasonable doubt that this identification is correct.

At noon we left Jarâbîs and continued our journey northwards to Bîr³ (or Birejik), on the Euphrates, which we reached about sunset. The accommodation which the western bank afforded was very poor, and we determined to cross the river and get lodgings in the town, which looked exceedingly picturesque in the warm and ruddy light of the setting sun. We went to the ferry, and saw the horses safely embarked on two boats that had gunwales very little above the level of the water, but very high bows and sterns. As soon as the ropes were cast off the boats began to drift down the river, but the men in the bows worked their long oars with great skill,

¹ According to Rassam (*Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, p. 71) when Skene told Smith that he had discovered Carchemish in Yarbölus, Smith "ridiculed the idea," but when he saw the place he adopted Skene's view.

² W. St. Chad Boscawen says that in 1874 Skene and Smith identified Jarâbîs with Carchemish; see *Graphic*, December 11th, 1880; and Hogarth, *Carchemish*, p. 13. As Boscawen was a friend as well as a colleague of Smith, he probably discussed the identification with Smith and knew his views on the subject.

³ The *Bîrtâ*, *ܒܝܪܬܐ*, or *Bîrtâ Kastrâ*, *ܒܝܪܬܐ ܕܟܥܬܪܐ*, i.e., Bîrtâ the Fortress, of Syrian writers.

and so little by little they guided the boats diagonally to the eastern bank. We then walked some distance up the river, and embarked in a smaller boat, and were ferried across by the steersman, who managed to land us opposite to the place where the horses had embarked. Having collected the animals and our baggage we went up into the town and tried to obtain quarters in the Khân, but the Khânji could find no room for us, and would only admit our muķêrî and his animals. We then went elsewhere in the town, and our soldiers at length obtained quarters for us in a small house with a good courtyard, and places where they and their horses could find shelter for the night.

Whilst White and I were trying to heat some water for a bath one of the soldiers came to me, and told me that we had travelled so fast from Aleppo that both they and their horses were exhausted, and that the muķêrî said that his beasts must rest to-morrow. They went on to say that travellers usually took six days to reach Bîrejîk from Aleppo, but that, thanks to Allah and their intimate knowledge of the country, we had been enabled to do the journey in four; and then, somewhat shamefacedly, he said, "We and our beasts are very hungry." I reminded them that I had advanced £T3 to each of them before we left Aleppo, but each swore solemnly that he had been obliged to give his commanding officer two pounds in order to be made our escort, and that he had left the other pound with his wife. Little by little I found out that they had begged the little food which they had given their horses since we left Aleppo, and that they themselves had lived on the muķêrî. This explained the fatigue of the horses, and the discontent of the muķêrî, of which I had seen many signs. When I questioned the muķêrî he said that all this was true, and I arranged with him to pay for the feeding of the soldiers' horses, and for the evening meal each day of himself and the boy, and the soldiers and the black servant. This gave them great satisfaction, and White and I agreed to give them a feast that night in honour of our safe arrival in Bîrejîk, and because it was New Year's Eve. When asked what

they would like for their feast they said they "wanted to eat meat," and suggested that I should send to the bazâr for a cook whom they knew, and that the feast should be prepared in the house in which we were, so that they might eat under the protection of us, whose goodness was like that of Allah. The cook was fetched, and he recommended the purchase of a sheep, and rice, raisins, bread and fat, and charcoal for a fire, and having received the necessary money from me the whole party went out and bought these things.

In due course the feast was ready, and we were invited by the soldiers to come into the courtyard and see it served, as they wanted to receive our wishes for good appetites and "blessing." We went downstairs, and by the light of a large lantern tied to a tree we saw the cook and a helper bringing in a huge brass tray about three feet in diameter, covered with a heap of boiled rice smoking hot, well sprinkled with raisins and slices of lemon. On the sides of the heap of rice were laid the shoulders and legs of the sheep, and on the top its back, and when the tray was set on a low table (*kursi*) the two soldiers and the mukêrî and the boy squatted round, leaving room for the cook. Presently the cook with the Sûdânî man reappeared, carrying in his hands a large brass basin filled with melted fat, which he emptied out on the heap of rice, and then, having set down a heap of bread cakes, he squatted by the tray in the place left for him. Then all the men stretched out their right hands over the tray, and, pausing for a second to say "Bismillah" (*i.e.*, "in the Name of God!"), they scooped the rice down into the rivulet of melted fat round the edge of the tray and began to eat their meal. The joints of meat they tore to pieces with their fingers, and they broke off the rib bones one at a time as they needed them; and when they threw the picked bones over their shoulders behind them, these were promptly carried off by town dogs that lurked in the dark corners of the courtyard, and would have been invisible but for their eyes, which gleamed like little lamps. Our men bent their hands and made hollows of them, and scooped up rice and fat

together into their mouths, and in a comparatively short time the tray was completely cleared, and nothing remained of the bread except a few burnt ends of crust. Syrian and Mesopotamian sheep are not as large as English sheep by any means, but it seemed to us that a Syrian sheep and eight pounds of unboiled rice, and four pounds of fat, and two pounds of raisins, six lemons, and ten large bread cakes, were materials sufficient to provide five men and a boy with a satisfying supper. All Syrians and Arabs think it to be their duty to indulge in hic-coughings and eructations after a meal, both as a sign of its excellence and of their fullness and gratitude to those who have entertained them. Judging by the sounds which reached us at frequent intervals our men had enjoyed a full meal and were very grateful.

Early the next morning, January 1st, 1889, we set out to see the bazâr, and the town and the Castle. The town was full of points of interest, and the general view of it is striking. The houses, which are built of very white limestone, stand in terraces along the side of the hill. The hill-side is full of large, roomy caves, and worked-out quarries, and many of the former seemed to me to be very ancient. The north, south and east sides are protected by a good wall (thirteenth century?), and the west side by the river. The eastern gate and the towers at the angles of the wall are strong pieces of masonry, and some of the carved decorative work and inscriptions in the Kûfi character were well executed. The castle stands on the top of a rock in the town, and access to it is very difficult. Between it and the inhabited part of the town is a sort of deep valley, which may have been filled with water and served as a moat. The path down into it is steep enough, but that up the side of the rock on which the castle stands is steeper still. White insisted that I should go with him and see the castle, but when we at length stood among the masses of ruined masonry on the top of the rock, and stumbled and fell over the heaps of stone which represent its walls, he was obliged to admit that the knowledge we had gained was not worth the climb.

Maundrell describes his visit to the castle thus: "At first coming within the Gates which are of Iron, we saw several large Globes of Stone about twenty inches diameter; and great Axles of Iron, with wheels, which were intire blocks of wood two foot thick in the Nave, and cut somewhat to an edge towards the Periphery; and Screws to bend Bows or Engines; as also several Brass Field Pieces. . . . In the Castle, the principal things we saw, were, first a large Room full of old Arms: I saw there Glass Bottles to be shot at the end of Arrows; one of them was stuck at the end of an Arrow, with four pieces of Tin by its sides, to keep it firm. Vast large Cross-bows, and Beams, seemingly design'd for Battering Rams; and Roman Salade and Head-pieces of a large size; some of which were painted; and some large Thongs for Bow-Strings and bags for flinging Stones" (*An Account*, p. 5). When Buckingham visited Bîr in 1827 he found that all these things had disappeared. The bazâr was better supplied with wares than we anticipated, and White managed to find a good pair of riding boots with leather tops that reached over the knees. Very large quantities of cloths, stuffs, silks, camel-hair cloaks, jams, pickles, condensed milk, ironmongery, etc., were imported into Bîr from Aleppo, and almost everything which was required by the nomads who lived in the Eastern desert was purchased here by them. Bîr must have had a great past, and if ever it can be freed from the hand of the Turkish Pâshâ it will have a great future.

Just before we left the bazâr we met a Turkish officer to whom Hasan, one of our two soldiers, wished to introduce us. When I asked him why, he said that it was necessary for him to get cartridges from him, as he had none. When I asked him why he had not brought cartridges with him from Aleppo, he said that the officer commanding the Castle would not issue any to him, and he had no money for buying a supply. As each of our soldiers carried a rifle, I naturally assumed that he was provided with ammunition, but such was not the case. We were therefore introduced to the officer, who was a pleasant, genial person, and we invited him to drink

coffee and a glass of brandy, which he was quite ready to do. Whilst we were sitting together I explained to him our need, for he talked Arabic, and finally we went to his house, and made an arrangement with him whereby we obtained one hundred cartridges. He begged us to consider the transaction as a purely personal favour to the British Ambassador's son, and not to use the cartridges in or near the town, for they bore some Government mark by which they could be identified. He said that if any accident happened to White owing to the want of cartridges, his face would be "black" evermore, and his heart would be gall.

When we returned to our lodgings we found the mukêrî with the horses and mules in the courtyard, waiting to load up and be off. He said that we must ride at least three hours that afternoon, otherwise we should have much difficulty on the morrow in obtaining water. As he knew the road to Urfah and we did not, we had to agree to his proposal, but we had fully intended to stay in Bir for the whole of that day. We ate our meal hurriedly, and at two set out on the Urfah road. Our way from the town to the hill on the east was literally one of pain and sorrow; it was strewn with large stones and boulders of all shapes and sizes, and over many of the latter we had first to drag ourselves and then our horses. The mules took matters quite cheerfully, and scrambled about like large cats, but one of them, in taking a leap, slipped his load, and as one of the boxes fell on the stones end on, everything in it that was breakable was smashed. Among the ruin inside it were the fragments of our spirit lamp, and the remains of our enamelled-iron teapot and cups, which were all crushed and unusable, and the pretty set of *fanâgîn*, or Arab coffee-cups, which we intended to use when entertaining distinguished visitors from the desert, was a mere heap of bits of pottery. Our reservoir of methylated spirit burst also, and its contents soaked into a bag of coffee beans and a bag of biscuits. We reloaded the mule, and started on our way again, and were congratulating ourselves that we should soon be on level ground when White's horse stumbled,

and he fell off sideways, and struck the ground with his injured knee. This accident delayed us still further, and it was nearly five o'clock before we reached the top of the hilly ridge. We then pressed on as fast as we could, and an hour later stopped at a sort of farm-house about half a mile from the high road, and not very far from the place where the road for Diâr Bakr branches off to the left. During the last mile or two the night settled down very fast, and the road became invisible. In the darkness we heard a beast stumble behind us, and then a cry. We groped our way back, and found that our black servant Salîm had dropped into a sleep, and fallen off his mule, and hurt his right shoulder. We picked him up, rearranged the load, and set him on his beast again, and so brought him into the house.

Misfortune dogged our steps all that day, and the last blow was the worst of all. We bought in Aleppo a good supply of coffee beans, and, acting under Mr. Jago's suggestion, we had ten pounds roasted and ground, and put up in a good large tin canister, which we had made for the purpose. This precious tin was put in the load which Salîm's mule carried, and we determined to keep it unopened until we arrived in Môsul. When we came to go over our stock of food that evening we found the tin in its proper place in the hamper, but the cover was loose and was almost off, and on lifting the tin out we found it empty! The scramble up the rocks had probably loosened the cover, and then tilted it sideways, and Salîm, noticing nothing, had allowed the precious coffee to dribble out on the road for miles. This was very unfortunate, for we had asked our host and his friends to drink coffee with us. It was impossible to keep them waiting whilst we roasted some berries and pounded them in a mortar, and, besides, we had neither roaster nor mortar. I therefore toasted some crusts of coarse bread until they were hard and black, and crushed them into powder with a bottle, and poured the black mass into the *ibrik* (coffee pot) with water, and set it on the fire to boil. When the mixture was boiling I dropped into it twenty grains of quinine, and having put a good-sized piece of

sugar in each of the cups which our host lent us, poured out the black liquid, which looked exactly like ink, and handed it round to our guests. Our host drank his cup, and said, "Wallah! Khôsh kahwah!" i.e., "Good coffee, by God!" and held out his cup for more, and as all the strangers did the same I felt that the quinine had saved the situation.

We left our halting-place before sunrise, for the mukêrî said we had far to go. The track we followed led almost due east for some hours, and took us over a flat, monotonous, and most uninteresting country. Very little of it was cultivated, and there were neither trees nor shrubs to be seen in any direction. In the early hours of the day the air was light and warm, and in the brilliant sunshine the country about us looked less dreary. Towards noon the wind dropped, and the heat of the sun became very oppressive. The only green thing which flourished on the soil was some sort of plant of the sage variety, it seemed to me, and this, under the sun's rays, sent out unpleasantly strong aromatic odours. We halted about noon near a small group of tents, and from the features and dress of their occupants, we assumed that they were Circassians. The women and girls had very fair complexions, and they walked with an easy, fearless gait, wholly unlike that of the Arabs, and when they came with their men to greet us their faces were uncovered. They refused to accept any payment for their milk and firewood and water when we left, saying that money was no use to them. I gave each man a pocket-knife with a nickel-plated handle, and each woman a large, brightly-coloured *bandana* handkerchief instead of money, and they received our gifts joyfully.

We left the camp of the Circassians about 1.30, and four hours later we camped for the night near the old ruined Khân of Tcharmelek, where there were remains of some large stone buildings. During the night the weather turned bitterly cold, and when we rose in the morning it was snowing hard. Urfah was only a short day's journey from Tcharmelek, and it was all-important for us to get there that night because our supply of grain for the beasts

was well-nigh exhausted. We started at eight, and for three hours had alternate intervals of snow and sunshine. About noon we reached a place where there was good grass in plenty, and we halted and let all the animals eat, which they did eagerly in spite of the heavy snow that was falling at the time. At two o'clock we took the road, and gradually the plain developed into chalky ground, studded with many limestone hills. The snow had turned to rain, and the tracks were very slippery, and as one of the mules went dead lame we did not arrive in Urfah until evening. The mukêrî and his beasts went to the Khân, and the soldiers found lodgings for White and me and themselves and their horses in a superior, and quite comfortable house, which belonged to an Armenian. We found that the lame horse would have to be left behind, and a substitute found; and as the soldiers had to report themselves to the local military authorities, which would waste at least a day or two, I determined to stay in Urfah for three days, and to try to find a Jewish doctor to attend to White's knee, which had given him trouble ever since we left Bîr.

Of the early history of Urfah (the Edessa of the Greeks, the Urhâi' of the Syrians, and the Ruhâ of the Arabs) nothing is known. It seems certain from its geographical position that its site must have been occupied from time immemorial as a trading centre, and it is easy to understand why Seleucus Nicator rebuilt or enlarged it. Its earliest native name is unknown, but the Greeks called it "Edessa," and then "Orrhoe," or "Osrhoe," and they considered it to be the capital of the province of Osrhoêne. From the second half of the second century B.C. the town and district were ruled over by native kings, each of whom was called "Abgar." The fifth king of this name, according to a very ancient tradition, corresponded with our Lord.² The Romans took the town early in the

¹ *Urhâi'* is said to derive its name from its first king *Urhâi'*; it is commonly called "Urhâi the blessed," or "believing city."

² See Lipsius, *Die Edessenische Abgar-Sage*, 1880; and the *Doctrine of Addai*, ed. Phillips.

third century, and the Arabs captured it about 642, and called it "Ar-Ruhâ."¹ Baldwin made himself master of it in 1098, and in 1145 Zangi, the Prince of Môsul, took it from Jocelin II. The Turks, who seized it in 1517, changed the Ar-Ruhâ to "Urfah," and it has borne that name ever since. In the early centuries of the Christian Era Edessa was a great centre of Christian teaching, and its theological schools were renowned all over the East. Edessa was famous as possessing the napkin with which Christ had wiped His face after His baptism, and which ever after bore the impression of His features. According to Moses of Khorene, Christ Himself sent the napkin to Abgar, when he wrote to our Lord and asked Him to send an apostle to cure him of his leprosy. When the Byzantines were besieging Edessa in the tenth century the Muslims seized this napkin from the Christians in the city, and handed it over to the besiegers, and in return for the precious gift the town was spared, and large numbers of Arab prisoners were set free forthwith. According to Mas'ûdi (ii, 331), this took place A.H. 332 = A.D. 943.

The modern town of Urfah was inhabited chiefly by Kurds and people of Persian origin; the rest of the population was Christian—Jacobites, Armenians, and the like. The Christians were cordially hated, and even in 1889 were being cruelly persecuted by the Kurds and Turks, with the connivance of the Turkish authorities. Christian women were frequently assaulted in the evenings in the remoter quarters of the town, and there were many cases of rape perpetrated under the most cruel circumstances. The women, after being outraged, were often stripped naked and beaten, and men in the streets would revile them and try to strike them as they fled to their quarter. When the poor things fell down in the streets, as they often did, men would gather about them and kick them, and strike them with their heavy sandals. The only answer which the authorities made to all complaints was, "Keep your women indoors. Honest women

do not go out into the streets or bazâr." The Armenian Church or Cathedral was an eyesore to non-Christians, and several attempts were made to burn it down.¹ The Armenians told me that it was founded in the days of Thaddeus, one of the Seventy, who was sent to Edessa by the Apostle Thomas to preach the Gospel and heal the sick, and that even in the days when there were three hundred great and beautiful churches in the city their church was the finest of them all. Some parts of the foundations may have belonged to that remote period, but the building I saw was relatively modern.

We visited the largest mosque in Urfah, the "Ulu Jâmi'" which stands in the middle of the town, and probably occupies the site of the Orthodox Cathedral. With the help of a little bribery we managed to get into the fore-court, but the building itself, which is only about a couple of hundreds of years old, was sealed to us. The one monument which makes the mosque remarkable is the fine octagonal tower close by it, which must date from the Roman period. I have seen nothing like it elsewhere in Mesopotamia, and it dominates the whole town. The Citadel, or Castle, stands on an isolated rock, like the Castle at Bîrejîk, and has a sort of valley between it and the town. It is opposite the south-west corner of the town, within the walls and adjoining them. The town wall is really a fine piece of work, and the shape of the stones with which it is built, and the general, massive regularity of its courses, made me think that it dates from the time of the Roman rule over the town in the third century. It is flanked by a series of rectangular towers, each about forty feet from the other. The streets of the town were narrow and filthy; but on each side of

¹ In 1895, during the persecution of the Armenians, an immense number of Christians took refuge in this church, and the building was crammed from one end to the other. The Muslims then barricaded the doors and made scaffolds to the windows, through which they thrust into the church burning mats and rugs and pieces of wood which had been soaked in paraffin, and every person in the building was burnt to death. The refugees are said to have been nearly three thousand.

most of them is a narrow, raised causeway, intended to serve as a pavement for passengers. Sometimes a native of consequence or a soldier will ride his beast on the causeway, and when he meets passengers who decline to jump off it into the pools of mud in the middle of the street, a violent row ensues, and the air is filled with unprintable language. . . . The bazâr was filled with European goods, and the gossip of the town said they were imported specially for the Christians, who alone had the money to buy them!

We next visited the two stew-ponds, which are one of the great sights of Urfah. These probably occupy the sites of two stew-ponds that were made when the worship of the Fish-god was a prominent feature in the lives of the townsfolk. The larger of these is called "*Birkat Ibrâhim*," or "*Abraham's Pool*," and contains an immense number of carp, the progenitors of which are said to have been placed in its waters by the Patriarch Abraham, the "*Friend of God*." The fish were large, fat, and well favoured, and followed us in a dense mass along the side of the pool as we walked along feeding them. Those that were furthest away from the edge literally leaped over the backs of the others in their anxiety to secure some of the food, which they did not need in the least. The fish are held sacred by the people, and no one, it is said, ever catches them for food, for it is commonly believed by the Muslims that the man who eats of them will die within the year. On the north side of this pool stands the Mosque of Abraham, the "*Friend of God*," where, according to tradition, the cradle of the Patriarch is preserved. On the west side is the Madrasah or College, with its striking square tower, which probably marks the site of the old Christian College of Edessa. We made efforts to see parts of these buildings, but Muslim fanaticism was very active, and we failed. The second stew-pond lies to the south of the larger pool, and is called "*'Ayn Zilkhâ*," or the "*Fountain of Zilkhâ*," Potiphar's wife. It contained large numbers of carp, but they are not considered holy, and are often netted and sold.

It is difficult to explain why tradition has associated the larger stew-pond with Abraham, the "Friend of God," for there is no good reason, historical or otherwise, for connecting the Patriarch with Urfah. It seems to me that in early Muslim times some Arab conqueror, or governor called Ibrâhîm, remade or repaired and enlarged the old stew-pond of the town, and that in later times, when his history was forgotten, the people confounded him with Abraham, the "Friend of God." This once done, the rest followed as a matter of course, and we have as a result one spot near the city wall pointed out as the place where Abraham laid his son Ishmael¹ on an altar, intending to offer him up as a sacrifice, and close by it another where, they say, the ram was caught which Abraham offered up in the place of his son. Between the two places is a spring which gushed out of the earth after the ram was sacrificed as a sign of God's satisfaction and pleasure. The native who told me these things also told me that Abraham's Pool is fed by the spring which God caused to come into being in order to quench the flames of the fiery furnace into which the infidel Nimrûd cast Abraham from the top of a neighbouring mountain; and Nimrûd's name once having been connected with Urfah in this way, it is not surprising to find that the two great stone columns, each about forty-five feet high, which stand near the Citadel, and probably date from the Roman period, are said to be the supports of "Nimrûd's Throne."² I could not find that any native believed that Abraham ever lived at Urfah, though some thought he was born there, but none doubted that he lived at Harrân, and that he started from that ancient city when he went to Canaan. The existence of Rebekah's Well (see Genesis xxiv, 15 ff.) at Harrân is regarded locally as proof positive of this.

A little distance from the west wall of the town stands

¹ This is the opinion held by many Muslim theologians, and it is common among some divisions of the Shi'ites.

² Photographs of them are published in Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler*, Leipzig, 1917, pl. 28.

the Armenian Monastery, called Dêr Sarkîs, which contains the tomb of Aphrêm, commonly known as "Ephrem Syrus," the most celebrated Father of the Syrian Church (died 373). His voluminous works were widely read, and many of them have been translated into Armenian, Greek, Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic.¹ The tomb itself is a poor structure, and its decorations quite out of place. Dust is taken from the ground on which it stands, and is put into little bags and sold to the faithful, and I was told that the petition of every worshipper who lays his hands on the tomb whilst he is praying is granted, provided that Mâr Aphrêm is satisfied that it will be for the good of the suppliant. In other words, God is supposed to consult Aphrêm before He answers any prayer. In the hills near the monastery, and far up the mountain of Nimrûd Dâgh, are many rock-hewn tombs, and parts of old quarries which have been turned into tombs, of all periods. Besides these there are many caves and grottos which have been inhabited at some time or other, and many rock-hewn cells in which the old anchorites of Edessa lived. Here and there were remains of inscriptions in the Estrangêlâ Syriac character, and I greatly regretted that I could not explore the whole neighbourhood, and make paper impressions and copies of the inscriptions.²

The last day of our stay in Edessa was devoted to making preparations for our journey to Mârdîn. We had hoped against hope that we might travel to Môsul viâ Severek, Dîâr Bakr, and Jazîrat ibn 'Omar, but everyone said that the mountain roads were blocked with snow, and that through traffic had ceased for many days. The route to Môsul viâ Mârdîn was easier in many respects, but the Kâ'im Maḳâm of Urfah had information that the Circassians from the north and the Shammar Arabs from the south were giving trouble, and he insisted on our

¹ See Mubâarak, *Acta S. Ephraemi*, pp. 23-63, and Bickell, *Conspectus*, p. 26.

² Several of these have been published by Sachau in the *Zeitschrift of the German Oriental Society*, Bd. 36, p. 142 ff. (*Edessenische Inschriften*).

taking a third soldier with us as far as Mârdîn, at least. This settled, we then examined our horses and mules, and found that two of the horses and one mule had very sore backs, and the poor animals seemed to me to be suffering pain. The mukêrî assured me that it was "nothing," and that they always had sore backs. Neither White nor I knew anything about horses, but we were sure that sores three inches long could not conduce to any animal's comfort, or assist him to carry his load. Our host, the Armenian, fetched a Kurdish veterinary surgeon, called Mubârak, and he advised us to have hollow pads made to go over the sores, and to have alterations made in the saddles. He attended to the sores, and washed them and anointed them, and gave us a supply of medicaments for use on the road. He cursed the mukêrî for ill-treating the animals, and described his origin and future in unprintable terms; but, better than this, he gave us some sound practical advice. He said: "You must walk half the day to spare your horses. You must buy grain here for all your beasts before you start, for there is none to be got on the road to Môsul. You must lighten your loads, and make your black servant walk when you walk, and you must buy another horse, and hire or buy two camels. I will sell you a good horse, and you shall hire two camels from me; the camels you shall hand over to my uncle's son in Môsul. Come with me to the Kâ'im Makâm, and I will get him to give your mukêrî a good beating, for he is a yellow dog. As for me, I speak the truth. I am known to the Sitt (lady) at the American Mission; ask her, and she will tell you if I am a thief. Do as I say, and you and the son of the Ambassador shall, under Allah's favour, reach Môsul safely, and you shall ask his father to give me a *nîshân* (decoration). I have said it." He then spat with great solemnity, and folded his hands across his stomach.

Every word of this speech of Mubârak seemed good to me, but the buying of a horse was a serious business. I told him that we would hire the camels, and commissioned him to buy the grain for all our beasts, and then I asked him to take me to the American Mission. I did

not know that there was a branch of the Mission in Urfah, and I could not understand why a lady should be at the head of it. But I had received so much kindness from Dr. Lansing and Dr. Watson in Cairo, and from Mr. Alexander in Asyût, and from Mr. Chauncey Murch in Luxor, that I felt sure the lady at Urfah, whoever she was, would help me. White absolutely refused to have anything to do with Protestant missionaries, being a Roman Catholic himself, and as he was wearied with all this bother about the horses and mule and their food, he went off to feed Abraham's carp, and Mubârak and I went to the Mission House.

The courtyard and house were clean and tidy, and the *bawwâb* (door-keeper) wore a turban that was really white, and dark, close-fitting clothing, and bright red sandals. He greeted Mubârak kindly, but looked at me with suspicion, and when I told him that I had business with his Sitt, he said that the Sitt did not receive men visitors, unless they were "Amelikânîs" (Americans). Mubârak then spoke to him, and must have given me a good character, for the Sitt's faithful servant at length went to announce me. I was taken upstairs into a small room, with distempered walls and a good-sized window, and fire grate in which there was a fire. The pieces of furniture were few, but there was a good large American lamp on a table, and a couple of brightly-coloured Kurdish rugs on the floor; these last modified the severe appearance of the room, and looked particularly cheerful on that wet, snowy day. In a few minutes the Sitt appeared, of whom I had heard so much from Mubârak. She was a young woman of about twenty-five years of age, of medium height and fair complexion. She was self-possessed in manner and dignified of speech. Her dress was plain and simple, and had something of the primness which is depicted in old pictures of the pious women of New England. She said, "My name is West, and I am the head of the American Mission in Urfah; in what way can I serve you?" I stated my business briefly, and told her that I wanted a good horse for White to ride, as walking was out of the question on account of his injured

knee, and that I also wanted the name of a doctor who would advise him what to do, and supply him with medicine. She said that I might safely leave the choice of a horse to Mubârak, who was "almost a Christian," for he had arranged all her journeys for her, and supplied the animals, and that he had always justified her confidence in him. Then, calling Mubârak upstairs, she talked with him, and finally told him to go and bring into the courtyard the horse which he proposed to sell us, so that she might see it and give her opinion.

When he had departed Miss West turned to me and invited me to wait with her until he returned with the horse, and asked me to tell her where we were going, and what we were going to do, and what had been happening in the world. She said that she was on the staff of the American Mission at 'Aintâb, and had come to Urfah to establish a school for the education of the daughters of Muslims; as she had enjoyed some success she thought the Lord had blessed her efforts. I asked her about the attitude of the Christian communities towards her, and she said it was generally unfriendly or hostile, because they disliked all Protestant missionary endeavours, especially those of the American Presbyterians, whom they accused of wishing to destroy the ancient ritual of the Church of Edessa, and the authority and position of the priests. The Muslims, she thought, did not connect the American Missionaries closely with the native Christians of Edessa, whom they hated most thoroughly. They saw that the Americans recognized the futility of the ritual and priestcraft and superstitions of the Armenians and Jacobites, and tried to educate the people. She then went on to say that the people who made her despair were the Kurds and their kinsmen from Persia. They were to all intents and purposes pagans, and that such religious beliefs as they held were closely allied to those of the old cults of Zoroaster, Mithras, and the Manicheans; even those of them who professed to be Shi'ites were more like pagans than Muslims.

In answer to my questions about the mutual hatred which existed between the Armenians and Muslims, she

said that it was deep seated and of long standing, and that it must certainly end in a terrible persecution of the Christians in Urfah within the next two or three years. The Armenians were well-to-do; were better traders than the Muslims, and their religious institutions were well endowed and were comparatively rich. Added to this, the Armenians were money-lenders, and though many of them were merciful men and patient, others of them were rapacious and cruel usurers, who wrung the last piastre from their debtors; and she gave me several instances in proof of her statement.

Our very interesting conversation was broken by the arrival of Mubârak with the horse, and Miss West and I went down to inspect him. Being satisfied with her inspection of him she discussed the price with Mubârak, and I bought the horse at her valuation. Before I left the Mission Miss West invited me to come and see her school at eight the following morning, and gave me the names of two doctors whom White might consult, but she would recommend neither. I sent for them both. Each wanted to perform an operation on the knee then and there, but one of them said that with proper bandaging White might continue his journey with me; as this was exactly my view of the matter we accepted this advice, and obtained a good supply of bandages from him. On the following morning I returned to the Mission, and was taken by Miss West into her schoolroom, where her pupils were assembled. There were about ten in number, and all little girls, and their ages varied from six to ten years. They read from their school books, first in Arabic and then in English, and then they sang some hymns also in Arabic and English. One after another the children who could write held up their slates with sentences written on them for examination, and then followed an exhibition of their sewing, in which work all the children were interested. The children's clothes were weird adaptations of garments of all kinds and colours, and a few wore dresses wholly European in character. Several of the faces were cruelly disfigured by the sore commonly called the "Aleppo button." "Up to what age do you keep these

children in your school?" I asked Miss West, and she said, "As long as I can. Sometimes I can persuade a father to let his girl stay with me until she is ten or eleven years of age, but they are usually taken from me before they are ten years old, and are married off to husbands without delay." "And what then?" said I. "Then," said Miss West, "they are lost to me. There is great competition for my girls among the men, and all I can do is to hope that they will remember some of the things I have taught them, and hand them on to their children in turn, and that they may give their husbands no peace until they send their girls to our Mission here." The faith and hope which could make any woman exile herself to Urfah, where a terrible persecution of Christians might break out at any moment, and then could make her content to spend some of the best years of her life in teaching little Muslim girls who were certain to forget most of what she taught them, seemed to me very splendid things, but I did not understand them.

On returning to our lodgings I found the soldier who had been deputed to escort us to Mârdîn waiting there with a note from the Ka'im Makâm, and when I had mastered its contents I realized with much regret that he suggested our setting out on our journey without delay. He said that news had reached him to the effect that the Shammar Arabs, who were in great need of food, had begun to raid the villages and the camps of other Arabs not far from Harrân and in the desert eastwards, and he thought that if we started at once we might reach Virân Shahr, and probably Mârdîn, without meeting them. This note put an end to the plan which we had made to visit Harrân on our way to Mârdîn, and I had to give up all idea of seeing the ruins of the Monastery of Mâr Ya'kôbh, of Edessa (born 640, died 708), which lay about two hours from Urfah, and could have been examined on our road to Harrân. We at once got our animals together, had the camels loaded with a large bag of meal for themselves, and some sacks of grain for the other beasts, and everyone worked so well that we were able to leave the town about 10.30. The mules and horses, refreshed

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Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff. The notation consists of vertical stems and horizontal lines, resembling a form of musical shorthand or tablature. To the right of the staff, there are several lines of handwritten text in Arabic script.

by the rest and by the regular meals which we provided, seemed, for the first time, to be eager to travel, and White was so happy at finding himself seated on a horse which was not tired that, utterly regardless of his weak knee, he made his horse caper about the streets in a manner which drew applause from the various Turkish soldiers we passed. Personally I was very sorry to leave the town, for I wanted to see the treasures in the churches, and to make enquiries about certain important Syriac manuscripts, especially the "*Chronicle*"¹ of Michael the Elder,² a copy of which was said to be in the hands of one of the Jacobite ecclesiastics in Urfah. The ancient historical associations of Urfah, or Edessa, have appealed to every educated traveller to that town, and almost every yard of it possesses some special point of interest. The identifications of certain places in the town with sites mentioned or indicated in the Bible may be regarded with incredulity by the traveller, but in most cases they rest upon ancient traditions which, in turn, may be based upon historical facts.

After we left the gate in the eastern wall of the town, we rode a little way up a hill to get a good view of the surrounding country. Looking to the west we had a fine view of the town, the houses of which rose tier above tier on the side of the hill, and the Citadel and the pillars of Nimrûd were very prominent objects. Beyond the town, in the far distance, could be seen two roads, and I recognized the one running to the south-west as the road to Bîrejîk. In the hills above the town we had a good view of the worked-out quarries and natural caves and rock-hewn tombs; to the north-east lay the striking mountain of Kypru, and to the south-east the mountain of Tektek. Far away to the south, in a haze, stood an apparently rectangular something, which the mukêrî told

¹ It gives the history of the world from the Creation to A.D. 1196.

² He was elected Patriarch in 1166, and sat till 1199. I was fortunate enough to find and obtain for the Museum in 1890-91 a copy of his great *Chronicle* in Karshûnî, i.e., Arabic written in Syriac letters.

us was the Tower of Harrân. Badger, who published a drawing of it,¹ thought that it was originally the belfry of a church, and that it became a minaret when the main building attached to it was turned into a mosque, and called the "Red Mosque." He says that it stands in the north-east angle of the building, is sixty feet high, and that the lower part of it is built of stone and the upper of brick. Contrasted with the peaceful and comfortable look of the town which we had just left, the appearance of the country to the east over which we were about to travel was most depressing. Not a tree of any sort or kind was to be seen, and as far as the eye could reach there was nothing visible except rugged ground, which was covered with loose and broken stones of all sorts and sizes, with every here and there flat patches, having a little coarse grass upon them. The *Darb as-sultânî*, or "King's Highway," was represented by a network of mule and donkey tracks which very soon lost themselves among the stones.

Long before we had finished enjoying the view, the soldier from Urfah warned us that time was passing, and that we must start at once if we wished to get a shelter from the rainstorm which, he said, was coming. We therefore turned our faces eastwards, and moved off under his direction. He was an excellent fellow, and knew the road to Virân Shahr well, and he allowed no loitering on the way. Our pace was regulated by the pace of the camels, which, under his orders, covered at least three miles an hour. Camels usually want to stop when they like, and gaze at a stone or pluck a mouthful of anything they see, or even stop and meditate for several minutes at a time; but our soldier told them that they had been well fed that day, and that they must move on "straight forward," and they did. Two hours after we started it began to rain, and an hour or so later the rain turned to snow. I suggested a halt for a meal, but our soldier objected, and told us to eat raisins, a

¹ A reproduction from a photograph of it is published by Preusser, *op. cit.*, pl. 73; and see Badger, *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i, p. 342.

good supply of which he got from one of our boxes without stopping the mule. I asked the mukêrî why we did not stop to eat, and he said that the soldiers knew that parties of the Shammar Arabs were out raiding the country, and they treated soldiers with great barbarity when they caught them in the desert. The snow fell steadily, but not heavily, and the wind was very cold, and a more dreary, stony region does not, I believe, exist in Mesopotamia. About 4.30 our soldier said we had better pass the night at Marga (?) Khân, and about an hour later we arrived at the place. Whilst we were arranging for a room one of the mules took the opportunity of having a good roll in the snow, and before he could be made to get up he smashed one of our camp beds completely, and crushed White's helmet case, which contained his helmet and a large three-pound tin of vaseline, which had been stowed inside it for safety. In getting the mule up Salim also got a severe kick on the shoulder, and in one way and another that mule gave us a good deal of bother that evening. After we had fed the beasts, and seen that each camel had actually swallowed the eight large balls of dough which were his ration, one or two shêkhs with their friends came to call upon us. We made coffee for them, and they gave us advice about the route of our journey the following day. Our soldier from Urfah made mental notes of what they said, and I thought that the shêkhs knew him and liked him.

We set out at seven the next morning, January 6th, and the sun rose brilliantly, and very soon warmed us. Two or three times in the course of the forenoon our soldier made us halt among stony hillocks, whilst he rode off to the south to reconnoitre. On each occasion he saw small parties of mounted Arabs in the distance, but as they seemed to be journeying to the south-east we went on our way as soon as he returned. At 1.30 we came to a sort of plain on which much grass was growing, and we saw several low, black camel-hair tents scattered about. The master of one of these came out to us, and asked, after the usual manner of the desert Arab, who we were, and what our business was, and when our soldier had

described our importance we were invited into his tent to drink coffee with him. He had no coffee, he told us, but he thought that we ought to make some, and he would drink some of it with us. He gave us much information about the positions of bodies of Shammar Arabs, and urged us not to follow the beaten track to Virân Shahr, but to strike northwards, and then to make for a valley at the end of Jabal Tektek, and to sleep in a cave in a hill on the other side of it. The soldiers demurred a little, but agreed to the change of route, as the mukêrî said he knew exactly where the cave was. We took leave of our amiable host, who insisted on walking a few miles with the camels, talking to their leader as we went. Before he left he reminded us that the time for the afternoon prayer had arrived, and taking off his *'abâ'ah*, or cloak, he threw it down on the ground, and kneeling down, with his face turned towards Makkah, dropped his arms by his side, and assumed that wonderful look of submission and resignation which comes natural to every Muslim in the presence of Allah. The Shammar were forgotten, and each man stopped his beast and followed the example of the shêkh, who repeated his petitions aloud, and was followed by our little party. The final petition, "Peace be on us and on all the righteous worshippers of God," was said by all of us with earnestness.

We rode for four hours over the most desolate country imaginable, and about 5.30 the mukêrî pointed to a long, low, cavernous opening in the hill on the left, and told us that this was "*Ma'arah*," i.e., the "Cave," where we were to pass the night. We reached the cave just as the night was settling down, and we heard the voices of many men and the gurgling of camels and the stamping of hoofs, and we found it to be nearly full of men and animals. Our three soldiers bustled about and got the mules unloaded, and as several of the men in the cave helped to light fires and get our carpets spread, I gathered that we were welcome. Salîm was groaning because of pains in his shoulder and side, but when he had drunk a large tin cupful of tea, with three drops of tincture of laudanum in it, he cheered up, said that I had driven the spirits

out of his limbs, and made himself very useful. There were in the cave about thirty men who had joined two merchant caravans, which had left Urfah several days before we did, and some twenty donkeys and mules. When these men saw the Shammar horsemen bearing down upon the caravans they fled to this cave with their beasts, and had been hiding there ever since. They had no firearms, and their only weapons of defence were stout cudgels and short sticks, with heavy balls of bitumen attached; the latter much resembled the maces seen in the hands of many of the kings whose figures are sculptured on Assyrian bas-reliefs. For fighting at close quarters these maces must have been serviceable weapons, but in fighting against the Shammar horsemen, who carried lances ten or twelve feet long, they were useless. After supper some of these men squatted round our fire, drank coffee, and told us their experiences. This done, they asked us to let them travel with us to Mârdin and Mōsul because we had three soldiers with us, and because White and I had revolvers, and we agreed to their proposal. We decided to start at daybreak, and then tried to settle down for the night; but it was impossible to sleep, for our fellow occupants of the cave talked incessantly, and about midnight, when conversation began to flag, a young man began to drone out a pathetic love-song, and when this was ended he told stories which evoked loud "Åhs!" from the listeners. Then two or three little groups started making coffee, and I realized that they intended to keep awake, being afraid to go to sleep. About an hour before daybreak White was taken violently ill as the result of eating freely of tinned Bologna sausage, which he had bought in the bazâr at Aleppo.

This incident delayed us two hours, and we did not leave the cave until eight o'clock (January 7th). Our acquaintances of the cave seemed to be on the whole merchants in a small way of business, but there were men of substance among them, as their bales of goods showed. The merchants mounted their beasts, which were hurried along by their serving-men, who walked or ran behind them according to our pace. Our soldier from Urfah

left us in charge of the two soldiers from Aleppo, and cantered ahead looking out for bands of the Shammar. We saw none, however, and we rode steadily on until noon, when we stopped for half an hour at a small encampment of shepherds, who were driving a large flock of sheep from Môsul to Syria. Some of the shepherds wore nothing but a single garment made of a strip of camel-hair cloth, which was doubled over and sewn together at the sides; spaces were left for the arms to come through, and a hole was cut where the cloth was doubled over for the head. It seemed a very draughty garment. We bought from them a sheep for twenty piâstres, and gave them some tobacco, which was so welcome to them that they asked us to take back our money and to give them some more tobacco; and they begged for matches so that they might be able to light a fire in the evenings. They told us they had been twenty days on their journey from Môsul, and that the sheep lived on such grass and herbs as they found on the road.

A further ride of two and a half hours brought us to the northern end of a low range of hills, and an hour later we crossed a stream and entered the modern Armenian village of Virân Shahr. The merchants went off to the bazâr, where they had many friends, and we found quarters in a small but clean house not very far from the northern end of the ruins. We were congratulating ourselves on our good fortune as we made preparations for a meal, when our soldier from Urfah appeared with the Ka'im Makâm, who told us that he had received orders to send the soldier back to Urfah. This was very sad news for us, because we liked the man, and he had served us well. I asked if we could have another soldier from Virân Shahr in his stead, and the Ka'im Makâm said we could on certain conditions. When asked what these conditions were he said that we should have to deposit with him the value of the soldier's horse and his equipment (£T10), and a further sum of £T10 for his widow, for all the tribes were out fighting each other, and the soldier would certainly be killed. In addition, we should have to pay the man his wages from the time he left

Vîrân Shahr until he returned (if he ever did), and keep him and his horse. I said that if the country through which we were going was as unsafe as he represented, one soldier could not protect us, and therefore, whilst offering him thanks one thousand and one times, we would go on without any addition to the escort which the Pâshâ of Aleppo had given us. The Ka'im Makâm was most courteous, drank coffee with us, and then departed. I believe he was firmly convinced that we should never reach Mûsul.

We next went out and walked about the great expanse of ruined stone walls and buildings which is now known as Vîrân Shahr, or Wîrânshîhr. Some identify the site with Constantia, or Constantina, or Antoninopolis, or Maximianopolis, the seat of the Dux Mesopotamiae, which lay somewhere between Naşibîn and Harrân, and others with the great fortress of Zibaṭrah,¹ which the Byzantines called Sozopetra or Zapetra.² There was little to be seen there that would help any traveller to arrive at a decision on this point, but excavations along the inner side of the north wall of the town would probably yield good results. The line of the town wall could easily be traced, and there were substantial remains of the lower rows of stone of the rectangular and round towers which flanked it. The remains of the eastern gate of the town, and its two protecting towers, were considerable. On the south and west sides we noticed stones, with traces of inscriptions which appeared to be Syriac; had it been possible to carry them off I would have done so. Every here and there among the ruins of the houses were the remains of buildings which contained broken basalt pillars; the plans of these suggested that they were public offices. On the west side of the town, at no great distance from the wall, were the remains of a large circular building, the roof of which was supported by massive basalt pillars. The walls were not thick enough for a fortress, but they might have served for a public hall or a church. Inside the ruins of one of the doorways

¹ A town between Malaṭīyah, Sumêsaṭ and Hadathah; see Yâkût, ii, p. 914.

² Guy le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 121.

we saw the top of a flight of steps which led to some underground chamber. To the north of the town we saw several tombs built of massive blocks and slabs of basalt, and some of these were closed by heavy stone doors, of about the same size and thickness of the stone door from the Hawrân exhibited in the British Museum.¹ Most of the tombs were intended to hold a single body, and these seemed to be the best built. In the larger tombs three and even four bodies could be accommodated. Here and there we saw on the tombs a curiously-shaped cross cut in relief, but whether the tombs were made by Christians or only usurped by them is hard to say. Many poor people lived in the larger tombs.

On returning to our lodgings we found the Ka'im Makâm awaiting us. He had found out who White was whilst we were at the ruins, and he was anxious to ingratiate himself with him for private reasons; but what these were I did not know. Then, in talking to me, he described at great length and in very full detail the difficulties which beset him in dealing with the Armenians. He repeated most of the complaints which I heard made against them in Urfah—that they were greedy, grasping, and cruel usurers, and that by fraud and craft they had managed to get the whole trade of the town into their hands, and that they had made the Kurdish tribes who lived in the neighbourhood enemies of the Turkish Government. Worst of all, they had been in the habit of sheltering and succouring parties of Yazîdîs who were endeavouring to settle down in Vîrân Shahr and Urfah, against the express order of the Turkish Government. This last charge against the Armenians was new to me. He then went on to say that the Government intended to root out the Yazîdîs from all the country west of the Tigris, and when that was done the Governor of Mōṣul was going to send an army into the mountains north of Mōṣul to destroy Shêkh Adi, the centre of their cult of the Devil. The Armenians were known to be opposed to the persecution of the Yazîdîs, which, he said, was even

¹ See the Central Saloon of the Egyptian Gallery.

then being carried on in Sinjâr, and the Government was preparing either to convert both the Armenians and Yazîdîs to Islâm, or to "wipe them out." His description of the means which were to be used to effect the destruction of these peoples sickened us both, and we sorely regretted that we gave him the quinine for which he begged when he first came to us earlier in the day. I was unable to follow everything he said, but his emphatic gestures left no room for doubt as to the meaning of the words I did not know.

Late that evening, just as I had got White comfortably settled for the night, some of our acquaintances from the cave came to us, and brought several men whom we had not seen before, saying that these wished to travel with us to Mârdîn. All of them were merchants in a small way of business, and they had been in Virân Shahr for more than a week, waiting for some large caravan to come so that they might travel under its protection. Whilst they were there the Ka'im Makâm had "squeezed" them so successfully that a raid of the Shammar could hardly have mulcted them of more of their goods. They offered us gifts of dates, figs, nuts, and two embroidered cloaks, and in their anxiety to go with us said a great many foolish and flattering things about ourselves and our mothers. In answer I said, "I have accepted your gifts, which God has willed you should give us, but I give them back to you, for ye will need them if the Shammar find you come with us, and God shall make us to arrive in peace." At length we got rid of our visitors and went to bed; but the cold was so great that we could not sleep, and I began to understand why the natives sat up all night round a small fire, and chatted and sang songs and told tales until daybreak.

We left Virân Shahr soon after seven on January 8th in a heavy snowstorm. Our caravan had now become large, for at least seventy new acquaintances from Virân Shahr had joined us. Many of them had no beasts to ride, but they and their women counted the cold and snow nothing in their joy at the prospect of reaching their homes and friends at Mârdîn in two or three days.

time ; and they stepped out well, and most of them kept up with the camels without much effort. About ten o'clock the snow suddenly ceased to fall, and the sun appeared, and shone with a sort of coppery splendour in a steely blue sky, but the wind was bitterly cold. Our track was rough and stony, and by noon most of our companions wanted to rest. At 12.30 we halted by the side of a river, which the mukêrî told me was the "river of Râs al-'Ain"¹ (the Balija?). We started again at 1.30, and marched over very rough ground for three and a half hours, when we came to a large cave in a hill. Here our soldiers stopped and told us that the general feeling of the caravan was that we should pass the night in the cave, and not go on to the village, about one hour's journey on. A stream of water ran down close by the cave, there would be nothing to pay in the morning for lodgings, and the cave was near and warm, whilst the village was far off and cold, and the women were very tired ; so we stopped there. The cave was double. The outer cave was large and roomy, but not very high, and the inner cave, though smaller, was much higher, and it had a flat roof like a ceiling. As the inner cave opened out to the left we lighted our candle-lamps and a fire without any fear that they would be seen by the Shammar or anyone else. We all helped to water the beasts and feed them, none of which gave us any difficulty at all except the two camels ; these absolutely refused to come into the cave at first, but after eight large balls of dough had been stuffed into the mouths of each of them, they allowed themselves to be backed into the cave, and then knelt down under strong protest and began to digest their meal.

We left the cave a little before eight on January 9th, and found that the weather had greatly improved. The sun shone, the wind was pleasantly warm, and many of our company began to sing. We halted at noon for half an hour at a place called Tall Harâmî, where there

¹ *I.e.*, the "Head of the Spring." It is the Resain, or Rhesaena, of classical writers, and the town is near the head of the river Khâbûr.

were several Circassian families ; some of the little girls who came to stare at us were very beautiful, and seemed wholly out of place in their surroundings. Their garments were thin and very scanty, but they seemed quite comfortable, and they greatly enjoyed the handfuls of raisins which White gave them. Five hours later we came within sight of the village of Tall Arman, where we intended to stay for the night, but between us and the village we saw a great number of camels and some tents, and round about the tents were piled up bales of goods that had formed the loads of the camels, which were kneeling and eating their suppers. When we came near the tents an Arab came towards us, and asked the soldiers who we were, and what our business was, and where we were going, and when they told him he went back into one of the tents. Just as we were about to ride on to the village the Arab returned to us with a tall, handsome man, with a long dark beard streaked with grey, and wearing a spotless white turban, and a long, light-brown camel's-hair cloak, beautifully embroidered at the neck in silks of many colours, and with silk cords and tassels which reached to his waist. When we saw him coming towards us we dismounted and went to meet him, and he saluted us with both his hands, which he first laid on his breast, and then lifted to his mouth and his forehead, and upwards, and then with the words, "Peace be upon you, and the favour and blessings of God, O my lords, Franjî. Very welcome are ye, be at your ease!" (*Ahlan wasahlan wamarhaban bikum*). The warmth and kindness with which he spoke these words (which the sons of the desert rarely address to Christians) were very acceptable, and we turned and walked towards his tent with him. But before we reached it he turned aside to look at his camels and the arrangement of his bales, and whilst we were walking with him he told us that he was Hajji Ibrâhîm, a merchant of Môsul and Diâr Bakr, to which city he was then travelling, and that he possessed three thousand camels. Before we went into his tent I sent the soldiers on to the village of Tall Arman to hire a lodging for us, and then we sat down and drank coffee with him, and

smoked. We talked long with him, and on many subjects, and he was filled full with curiosity about England and London, and the Woman-King, as he called Queen Victoria, and the ships of war and their guns. All his questions were very much to the point, but my command of Arabic did not enable me to answer them all. He invited White to go to Diâr Bakr with him, and I am sure that he meant what he said, for he was genuinely attracted by that fresh-coloured, good-looking young giant. Time after time the soldiers came to fetch us, and at length Hajji Ibrâhîm clapped his hands, and when his men came running he told them to give the soldiers mutton and bread and coffee, and then sent them away. He pressed us to eat with him and sleep in his tent that night, and said that afterwards he would make his men fight a sham fight. Only with difficulty were we able to persuade him that there were things which we must attend to that night, and at length we rose to go. He called one of his men, and told him to take to our lodgings in the village a "little coffee and a handful of dates and figs and raisins," and then walked with us out of the tent and towards the village. Presently we heard the sound of hoofs behind us, and, looking round, we saw a mare cantering after us. Our host stopped, and the creature came up to him and began nuzzling his shoulder, and trying to find his ear with her lips. It was his favourite mare, Zilkhâ, and when he said to her, "my heart, my life, my breath," and she stood and whinnied whilst he caressed her ears, it was quite clear that each loved the other. Zilkhâ trotted after him like a dog, and kept on trying to catch his hand in her mouth. When we came to the village I begged him to come into our house and drink a cup of coffee, but he refused, saying that the walls of a house crushed him, and he could not breathe within them, that it was late, and that he was breaking camp two hours after midnight. He then turned (before we could say a word of thanks), and, giving us the "peace and blessing of God," strode off with his mare trotting behind him, and she seemed glad to have her master to herself once more. When we went into our room we

found there on the floor a bundle of dates weighing about fifty pounds, a large packet of dried figs and raisins, and about ten pounds of unroasted coffee berries. White and I looked at each other, but could find nothing to say. Why a man whom we had only known for a couple of hours, and for whom we had done nothing, should show us such substantial kindness, was beyond our understanding.

The house in which our soldiers secured a room for us was built of stone, and had a flat roof with a low parapet. Outside and inside it was very clean and neat, and its owner, a Roman Catholic Armenian, was most attentive and helpful. Our room was large and square, and its walls were profusely decorated with large coloured oleographs, representing scenes in the life of our Lord, and there were two good "flat" reproductions of old Italian pictures of the Blessed Virgin Mary. When our host, who spoke Turkish as well as Arabic, but not Armenian! learned that White was a Roman Catholic, he insisted on carrying him off after supper to the little church of Saint George in the village, where some night service was being performed. I think it was the eve of some saint's festival.

The following morning we rose with the dawn, for a number of the merchants who had journeyed with us from Virân Shahr wanted to arrange with us about their journey to Môsul. They were anxious to reach their homes as quickly as possible, and pressed us to go on direct to Naşîbîn. But as we were only three hours from Mârdîn, and I wanted to see the town as well as to purchase further supplies of rice, charcoal, biscuits, etc., all of which we had distributed freely to the poor women who came with our caravan from Virân Shahr, I decided that we must go to Mârdîn, and told them to go on to Naşîbîn and wait till we arrived. They first said they would do this, and then they said they would not, and finally they decided to stay where they were till we left Mârdîn, when they would at once set out and overtake us; and they said quite simply, "We shall see if the Shammar attack you, and if they do we can fly back to Tall Arman!"

This matter settled we set out to see the village of Tall Arman and the Tall (*i.e.*, hill) itself.

Tall Arman is a large village, and stands on a plain at the foot of the hill of the same name. It is an important place, for six caravan routes meet here, and at certain seasons of the year merchants from Baghdâd and the Persian Gulf, Persia, Afghanistân, Northern Armenia, Syria and Mesopotamia stop here for some days, and a good deal of business is done. The houses are well built of stone, and have good flat roofs, and the main streets of the village were tolerably clean. Most of the inhabitants are Roman Catholic Armenians, but from all I heard they had not only learned the languages of the Kurds, their neighbours, but many of their pagan ideas and superstitious practices. None of them spoke Armenian, and I was told that there was not a man in the whole village who knew that language. We walked round the hill, the highest part of which is at the eastern end, and then to the top of it; its circumference was about 2,000 feet and its height 130 feet. The greater part of it seemed to me to be composed of ruins of buildings in which the wind had heaped up vast quantities of sand and dust. But under the great mass of débris which now forms the hill there must lie the ruins of some great fortress, or strong frontier town, and it is to be hoped that one day excavations will reveal the ancient name of the place. Some think that *Τιγρανόκερτα*, the later capital of Armenia, built by Tigranes, stood here, and when we compare the description of the position of Tigranocerta given by Strabo (XI, 12, 4) with that of Tall Arman, there seems to be little reason for doubting that the "city of Tigranes" occupied the site.¹ Among the bits of pottery, etc., which I picked up on the hill, I saw nothing which could possibly be older than the thirteenth century. A little to the left of the road from Vîrân Shahr is the Kurdish village of Kôj Hîsâr,² and at the northern end of it are

¹ Taylor placed Tigranocerta at Kafr-Jûz, near Midyâd, and Ainsworth at Diâr Bakr (*Euphrates Expedition*, ii, p. 351).

² كوج حصار.

the ruins of the walls of a mosque and its buildings, and of two minarets. With the bits of broken pottery there were several pieces which suggested the seventeenth rather than the thirteenth century. The ruins at Kôj Hisâr are those of the Arab town of Dunêsir, which, according to Yâkût (ii, p. 612), was very populous and had a large market.

We returned to the village, and finding that there was no other ancient site worth visiting we got our beasts loaded up, and prepared to set out for Mârdîn. When most of our acquaintances from Urfah and Virân Shahr had assembled we left the village about 9.30, January 10th, and rode to the north-east. Before we reached the foot of the mountains on the end of which Mârdîn is built, the colour of the day changed entirely. The air seemed to become opaque, the sun disappeared, gloom fell all round us, the wind became icy cold, and snow began to fall heavily. When we came to the bottom of the series of steps by which the traveller reaches the town, we found them covered with snow to the depth of three or four inches, and were told that it had snowed for several hours the day before. We were soon wet through, and we found the ascent such heavy going that we did not reach the town until one o'clock. The soldiers took us to a house that seemed to consist of one large room, which on one side was open to the street like a shop. It had been formerly used as a café, and had a fireplace in it which, as far as I could see, was its sole recommendation. There was no other place to be had in the town, so we hired this, and turned our men to clear out the snow which had drifted in, and light a fire. We had all our baggage and stores stacked up in it, and then sat down on our boxes to face a very miserable day. It was impossible to walk about and look at the town, for the narrow tracks intended for the use of animals in the streets were filled with mud and melting snow, and the snowflakes fell so thickly and fast that nothing was to be seen in any direction ten yards off. Suddenly there appeared in the street before us a man who wore a long European overcoat, and who, to our amazement, wished us "good-day"

in English. He stepped up from the street into our room, and told us that he was an American missionary, and that his name was Dewey. He greeted us very kindly, and said it was quite impossible for us to stay where we were, and without more ado called to two or three of his men, who suddenly took form among the snowflakes, and told them to take our baggage to the Mission House, and asked us to "come right along" with him. We were very glad to do so, as I was anxious that White should have more comfortable quarters, with proper food and plenty of hot water for a day or two, at least. In a very short time we reached the Mission House, which was near the western gate of the town, and soon after were most warmly welcomed by Mrs. Dewey and Dr. Thom, and the ladies of his family. All the Mission staff were most kind to us, and the couple of days which we spent in the home of these devoted, sincere, and self-sacrificing apostles of the Gospel and of education,¹ were very restful and refreshing.

¹ At the invitation of our hosts we visited the Mission Schools at Mârdîn, and were astonished at the knowledge displayed by the boys in Arithmetic and Algebra. Many of them read English fluently, and a few were making surprising progress in the study of Geography; and all the children enjoyed singing and went through their musical exercises creditably. It is impossible for the layman to estimate the time, care and attention on the part of their teachers which this proficiency indicated. The American missionaries have been accused by some people in recent years of paying more attention to the education of the Syrian Christians of the East on Western lines than to the preservation of the characteristics and traditions of their ancient Church, and of their ancestral manners and customs and language. As far as a mere layman can judge, I think the accusation to be ill-natured and untrue, and I base my opinion on what I have seen of American missionary work during the last thirty-two years in Egypt and the Sûdân, Syria, and northern Mesopotamia. The foundation of the religious teaching of the American missionaries has been, and still is, the Gospel, and unless I am much mistaken, the principal object of their educational system is to enable the Syrians to study their Bibles and the works of their great ecclesiastical writers in their own language. What does not the Syrian Christian owe to the great Syriac Bible, printed at Urmî by the American missionaries—Justin Perkins, Dr. Shedd, Dr. B. Labaree, and others (for their names see Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul*, iii, p. 142).

In the afternoon of January 11th, the day following our arrival, the snow quite suddenly ceased to fall, and the clouds parted and the sun shone with extraordinary brilliance, lighting up the mountains to the west of us, and the great plain to the south-east and east. It was then possible for us to go out and look about the town.

Mârdîn¹ is built on the south and east sides of a mighty rock, which cannot be less than 3,500 feet in height, and forms the eastern end of the range of mountains which run across northern Mesopotamia from east to west. The houses are made of stone, and stand in rows which rise one above the other like steps, and the windows of each house look down on the flat roof of the house below it; each house draws its water supply from its own cistern, wherein water is carefully collected in the winter for use during the summer. The streets are really flights of steps, and the ascent to the upper houses from the plain is slow and toilsome. When I was in Mârdîn the sewage of each house was brought directly into the street, and was expected to dispose of itself. We climbed to a point on a level with the highest houses, and found the air stimulating,² and the view quite marvellous. The great plain stretched away to the south in infinite distance, and its dead level was only broken by the mounds of varying height and extent which hid within themselves

and to Dr. Vandyck's Arabic Bible printed at Bêrût? And from their presses at Urmî and Bêrût the Americans have sent forth many works, as well as two serial publications, printed in the dialects of the countries about them, and these are of priceless value both from a religious and educational point of view. The success of the American missionaries proves that their preaching of the Gospel and the secular education which they offer supply a want which has been greatly felt by the Syrians; and Syrians, Armenians, and Muslims readily confess that the purity and integrity of the lives of the missionaries, and the example of their devotion and self-sacrifice, are the greatest elevating and moral influences in the country.

¹ The old Syriac name is ~~ܡܪܕܝܢ~~ whence the "Marde" of Ptolemy (VI, 1, 3); the Arab name is "Mârdîn," or "Mâridîn," ماردین.

² So also Niebuhr (*Reise*, ii, p. 394), "Die Luft zu Mardin ist sehr rein und gesund."

the ruins of towns, many of which must have been contemporaneous with the great kings of Assyria. We could see the whole length of the range of the Sinjâr mountains, and all the region of the river Khâbûr, and I was told that one prominent hill to the north of it was Tall Kawkab, or the "Hill of the Star,"¹ which is at least seventy miles from Mârdîn.

The mountain of rock on which Mârdîn stands is an ideal site for a border castle or fortress, and it is probable the rock has been employed for this purpose from time immemorial. Whether the mountain was fortified in the early centuries of the Christian Era, when the Romans and the Persians were fighting for possession of the country, we do not know, but in the tenth century the Castle of Mârdîn was called "Al-Bâz," the "Falcon," and was in the possession of the Hamdanid princes.² In the twelfth century a town containing several bazârs was in existence on the south side of the mountain, and Ibn Baṭūṭah, who visited it in the fourteenth century, says that it was one "of the most beautiful towns of Islâm," and that large quantities of stuffs made of very fine goat's hair were produced there; and, quoting Ibn Juzay, he says that the fortress on top of the mountain was called the "Grey Castle" (Kā'at Ash-shahbâ).³ In the second half of the fourteenth century the town was besieged by Tīmûr-i-Leng (Tamerlane), and although a native tradition states that he found it impregnable, its capture by him is a historical fact. The castle of Mârdîn is a wonderful object. From the plain it appears to be a building with walls of great height, but when seen nearer the beholder finds that the walls are comparatively low, and that what appears to be the body of the castle is the living rock. The castle completely covers the whole of the top of the rock, and, as Buckingham said, "is simply a wall raised up from the perpendicular cliff all round,

¹ A famous volcanic hill which was visited and described by Layard (see pp. 273, 307, 322).

² *Le Strange, Lands*, p. 96.

³ *Voyages*, ii, p. 143.

and is thus exceedingly difficult of access."¹ Its chief strength is due to its position.

From the contemplation of the Castle we turned to the bazâr, which covers a very large space, and is protected from the sun and rain by a roof supported on massive stone pillars. The dealers in textile fabrics had large stocks of silks and cloths, but as a whole the market-place was not very interesting. We had not time to visit the ancient churches of the Forty Martyrs and St. Michael, still less to go into the modern Roman Catholic Churches, and we regretfully returned a little after sunset to the American Mission. No one seemed to have a clear idea about the population of Mârdîn, which our hosts estimated at 15,000, and natives of the town at 50,000! The latter had very exaggerated ideas about the importance of the town, and few seemed to realize that its geographical position precluded all chance of Mârdîn becoming a great city, and that such renown as it possessed was due chiefly to the fact that it is the official residence of the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch and the East. For readers of the delightful narrative of Pietro della Valle the town will always have a sentimental interest as the birthplace of Maani, the first wife of this distinguished Italian traveller in the East.²

As soon as we were established in the Mission House, I made enquiries of my hosts as to the possibility of collecting Syriac manuscripts in the town or neighbourhood. Rumours had reached Professor Wright in Cambridge, from Rome, to the effect that there was a large underground chamber in the famous old Monastery of Dêr az-Za'farân, filled with ancient manuscripts of all kinds, Armenian, Syriac, Arabic, etc., and he and Sachau,

¹ *Travels*, i, 337.

² Of her he says: "e dotata, oltre le altre buone qualità (che quelle dell' animo io certo stimo non ordinarie), anche nel corpo di bellezza conveniente, per non esagerarla." As to her name he says, "Si chiama per nome proprio Maani, parola arabica, che s'interpreta 'significati o intelligenze'" (*ibid.*). Lettera XVII, tomo i, p. 398. Her father was an Assyrian Nestorian and her mother a Christian Armenian.

Lagarde, Guidi, and other scholars were very anxious to have the truth of these rumours tested. Mr. Dewey told me that he had heard similar rumours, and had not investigated them as he had too much work to do ; but he would invite some of his friends among the Jacobites to meet me the following evening, and they would no doubt be able to give me some information. In due course these gentlemen arrived, and in answer to my questions told me that at one time the Dêr az-Za'farân contained a large library of manuscripts, written in both forms of the Syriac character on parchment. They said that about forty years before, when the Kurds had destroyed the great library of Rabban Hôrmîzd at Al-Kôsh, and looted many churches in the neighbourhood, they went northwards, and, crossing the Tigris at Jazîrat ibn 'Omar, began to invade the great tract of country which is called "Tûr 'Abhdîn."¹ When the Jacobite Patriarch heard of this he had all the manuscripts at Dêr az-Za'farân taken down to an underground chamber under the church of Mâr Ya'aqôbh,² and stowed in alcoves in the walls, and then had the alcoves walled up, and the whole chamber filled with earth.³ My informants went on to tell me that some ten years ago a European traveller⁴

¹ This name means "the mountain of the servants [of God]," and is given to the mountainous district between Jazîrat ibn 'Omar and Mârdîn, where large numbers of Syrian Christians live, and where there are many churches and monasteries.

² A detailed description of this church is given by O. H. Parry, *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, London, 1895, p. 106 ff. He also gives an excellent drawing of the western door of the sanctuary on the plate facing p. 109.

³ Mr. Parry says: "Beneath this church and that adjacent to it is a most extraordinary underground chamber, of the use of which the monks are perfectly ignorant, though they believe, as usual, that it contains a large amount of treasure. Its existence is on this account kept a profound secret, an easy matter considering how difficult the entrance is to find ; nor is it at all improbable that treasure has been hidden there. . . . But the Patriarch is very much averse to excavations of any kind, and will not allow the earth, which is piled up at two ends of the chamber, to be removed." *Six Months*, p. 109.

⁴ The European traveller was Sachau, who describes his visit to the monastery in his *Reise*, p. 406. He says that he was taken to a

had specially visited the monastery, and pressed the monks to show him their library, and they did so. He offered to buy the manuscripts which they showed him, and when they refused to sell he tried to borrow them in order, he said, to have copies made of them; when they offered to make copies for him at his expense he declined. After his departure the Patriarch, fearing that the manuscripts would be stolen, had them packed up and sent to Dîâr Bakr. The object of the European's visit to the monastery was discussed far and wide, and the priests and monks of other churches and monasteries being thoroughly frightened, hid their manuscripts, and very few books of any kind had been seen since. This information, though unsatisfactory from one point of view, simplified matters for me, for it was perfectly clear that there were no manuscripts to be obtained now at the Dêr az-Za'farân, and that it was useless to go there. I was therefore free to arrange for the continuance of our journey to Môsul, and we determined to leave Mârdîn for Môsul, viâ Dârâ and Naşîbîn (Nisibis), on the following morning, and sent word to that effect to the merchants who wanted to travel with us.

We left the Mission at 8.30 on Friday morning, January 12th, and made our way to the eastern gate of the town, where we found the merchants and their beasts

chamber where there were from 15 to 20 manuscripts lying about in disorder. He found it impossible to make a list of them, and all he says about them is that he had in his hands 10 or 12 parchment manuscripts which were older than the ninth or tenth century (ich kann daher nur so viel sagen, dass ich 10-12 Codices von grossen Umfang in Händen gehabt habe, die alle auf Pergament geschrieben sind und älter als das 9 und 10 Jahrhundert). Mr. Badger says (*Nestorians*, i, p. 51): "We visited the library, if a dirty cupboard containing about one hundred manuscripts may be so called. Among these I found a portion of the writings of S. Chrysostom, most of the writings of Gregory Bar Hebraeus, and the entire works of S. Ephrem in Syriac; besides a compendium of the ante-Nicene Fathers, written in *Estrangeli* characters, about A.D. 1000. It is clear that the residents of the convent make very little use of the library, as most of the books were covered with dust, and scarcely any further care seemed to be taken of them than that of keeping them secure from being read or stolen."

assembled and waiting for us. With them there were many men and women from Mârdîn who had been waiting for two or three weeks to return to Môşul, and who thought that the opportunity of travelling under the protection of two Europeans and two soldiers was not to be lost. When we left the east gate our party numbered nearly one hundred. We all travelled together for a mile or two, and then I told the merchants that White and I and the soldiers were going to make a detour in order to see the Monastery of Dêr az-Za'farân, and I asked them to go on towards Dârâ, promising to overtake them as soon as possible. After some hesitation they agreed to do this, and went on. We then struck a road on the left, which brought us to Kal'at al-Mara (a mound which contains the ruins of a castle that is said to have resisted a siege by Tîmûr-i-Leng for a considerable time), and passing through some lovely gardens and groves of almond and mulberry trees, we soon came to the track which leads up to the monastery. The Syrians who followed us from the village gave us a friendly invitation to enter the building, but we decided not to do so, for we should have had to spend the greater part of the morning in polite conversation and coffee drinking. We therefore rode a little to the south-east of the track, and obtained a good general view of this historic building¹ and its imposing situation. The monastery stands nearly half-way up the hill-side on a level piece of ground, situated a few hundred feet above the great plain. It is a massive, heavy building, and when I saw it was badly in need of

¹ This is the second Dêr az-Za'farân mentioned by Yâkût (ii, 663), who says that the crocus, or saffron plant, زعفران, was grown there. Local tradition states that the monastery was founded by Mâr Khananyâ of Kafr Tûthâ (Badger, *op. cit.*, i, p. 51; Parry, *Six Months*, p. 110), who in the fourth century purchased the building while it was yet a castle, and turned it into a monastery. Another tradition says it was founded by Aphnî Mâran, who flourished under George the Patriarch about A.D. 660; see Budge, *Book of Governors*, vol. ii, p. 121. Old Syrian writers call the monastery Dairâ dhê Khûrkmâ, or "Monastery of the Crocus," of which the Arabic name, Dêr az-Za'farân, is a translation. See also Hoffmann, *Aussûge*, p. 213.

repair.¹ I could well believe that it was originally a fortress or border castle. Seen from a distance it is a very striking and picturesque feature in the landscape.

Even the examination of the outside of the monastery occupied more time than we expected, and it was nearly noon before we reached Gul Harrîn, or Tall Harrîn, where we found the merchants had halted, and were waiting for us. After we had eaten the excellent lunch which Mrs. Dewey had thoughtfully provided for us, we set out at 12.30 for a destination which our muḫerrî called the "Ḳaṣr," i.e., the "Fort," or "Palace." A ride of three and a half hours brought us to the site of Dârâ, and we stopped to look at the vast ruins which lie there. I urged the merchants to make their way on to the Ḳaṣr, but they said that the whole district was infested with robbers, and they refused to do so. Sorely against their will they stopped and waited for us. Of the early history of the town now called Dârâ, Δάρας, nothing is known, but about A.D. 507 it was made into a fortified border town by the Emperor Anastasius, who called it "Anastasiopolis." It was very strongly fortified, and was well supplied with water from a source which no enemy could attack, and its strength and water supply together probably enabled Belisarius to defend it successfully for so long a time against the Persians in 530. It was captured by the Persians after a six months' siege in 574, but was restored to the Romans by Chosroes II in 590; nevertheless it again fell into his hands in 605. A couple of Kurds from the village, which is built at the northern end of the ruins, took charge of us, and went with us as guides, and showed us many things which we should otherwise have overlooked. The town was built

¹ There is no need to reproduce the notes which I made about the building at the time, for since I saw it the hand of the "restorer" has been at work. A brief description of the monastery and its church is given by Badger (*Nestorians*, vol. i, p. 50), and a fuller and more detailed description by Parry (*Six Months*, p. 105 ff.), who lived at Dêr az-Za'farân for five months. For a technical account of its architecture and several plates illustrating its most striking features see Preusser, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-53, and plates 62-65.

in a hollow, with hills on its north, east and south sides, and the quarries from which the huge stones for its walls and towers were obtained are still to be seen to the east and west of the town. A stream ran through it, entering under the wall on the north-east and flowing out under the wall on the south. Our guides took us at once to see the ten great underground water tanks, which were roughly 80 feet long, 13 feet wide, and 35 feet deep; whether the water in them was due to rain or infiltration I could not say. We next went to see an extraordinary underground chamber with its square pillars hewn out of the solid rock, which our guides believed to have been a cistern, and then the so-called "Prison." The walls of the "Prison" above-ground were in a state of ruin, but at one place there was a means of entrance to a sort of gallery, which led to a flight of steps, and by these access was obtained to a huge underground chamber, with massive square pillars. Some of the natives believed that the chamber was used in olden time as a granary. We then hurried over to the cemetery on the western side of the town, and looked at a few of the rock-hewn tombs. These are of various sizes, some being intended to hold a single body, and others to accommodate several, and the doorways of many of them are decorated with patterns in carved stone-work. Our guides pointed out several façades on which the cross was carved or painted, and in one of the tombs the cross had an animal painted on each side of it. Over the entrance to the largest of the rock-hewn chambers were two bas-reliefs; in that on the right was sculptured a tree, and in that on the left a scene which I could not identify.¹

¹ Tavernier's description (*Collection of Travels*, vol. i, London, 1684, p. 70) of this building, which he took to be a church, is as follows: . . . and upon the north side of one of those Churches there is a Gallery, at the end whereof, through a little Door, you descend about a hundred Steps, every Step being ten Inches thick. When you come under the Church, you meet with a larger and bigger Vault, supported with Pillars. The Building is so contriv'd, that there is more light below than in that above, but of late years the Earth has stop'd up several Windows. The great Altar is in the Rock; on the right side whereof is a Room, which receives the light from several Windows

Meanwhile the sun was going down, and the merchants were in a great hurry to set out on the last stage of our journey that day. But it was with the greatest regret that we tore ourselves away from Dârâ to set out for the Kaşr; and even White, who usually could see nothing interesting in what he called "piles of dirty stones," was bound to confess that the weird heaps of colossal masonry, which were all that was left of the great Roman fortress, possessed a curious fascination for him. I have never seen anything like it before or since. Only giants, or Titans, or an earthquake could have wrenched the massive slabs and blocks of stone from their positions, and smashed them into pieces, and scattered them in all directions. It is literally true that hardly one stone stands on another at Dârâ. The Roman soldiers drafted to Dârâ must have led a monotonous life, for the buildings and walls and towers, even when complete, must always have been ugly, and the dreary, terrifying desert which surrounds the place and extends away indefinitely, must have been then, as now, most depressing.¹ All the merchants and people in our caravan were anxious to get away from the ruins as fast as possible, for they were afraid of the evil spirits with which they fully believed Dârâ was haunted. To their fear of evil spirits might be added their fear and dislike of the Kurds of the adjoining village, who were said to ill-treat the wretched Armenian Christians that lived near them. When we set out for the Kaşr the beasts, as well as the men, seemed to be

contriv'd in the Rock. Over the Gate of the Church was a great Free-stone, wherein were certain Letters that I could not read." This and many other of the rock-hewn chambers at Dârâ were occupied by the sheep and cattle of the Kurds, who use them for byres and shelters, and it was impossible to see the insides of them, still less to enter them. A careful description of the chamber referred to by Tavernier is given by Preusser (*op. cit.*, pp. 46, 47), who adds a photographic reproduction of the bas-reliefs.

¹ It is interesting to note that Yâkût (ii, 516) mentions well-watered fertile gardens at Dârâ, and says that the town was famous among the Arabs for the cherry-jam (مُحَلَّب, *maḥḥlab*) which was made there.

anxious to get on quickly, and we made such good progress that we arrived at the Kaşr in about two and a quarter hours.

The Kaşr is a massive square stone tower, the lower half of which is still in a comparatively sound state, and it formed a very important part of the great fortress, of which the remains lie scattered about in all directions. Of its history nothing is known, but it may well be a part of the castle which Justinian began to build between Naşibîn and Dârâ early in his reign. We rode into the great enclosure, and found it filled with Kurds, who did not receive us with any show of enthusiasm; and they said quite plainly that they had seen bodies of Shammar Arabs riding about, and that they were afraid that our presence there might induce these to pay the place a visit. When we declined firmly to leave them, and began to unload our beasts, the head-man of the community came up and offered us the use of his house, and promised to supply us with water if we agreed to pay for the services of his men. We went to his house, which was a tumble-down building of one story, with no door and half the roof gone, and having laid down our beds on waterproof sheets we went and attended to the feeding of the beasts, and then cooked and ate our supper. The head-man asked for coffee, and I gave him about half a pound of berries, and a small loaf of white sugar, which greatly pleased him and his men. A little later the sheep and goats and chickens of the community were driven into the house, and our companions, the merchants, then lighted a fire in the doorway, and they and all the Kurds of the village squatted down around it, and talked as only Orientals can talk at night. We tried to sleep, but failed, for the goats walked about and over our beds, and in a butting match which two of them began by White's bed one of them slipped on the rug, and fell heavily on White, and caused him great pain in his injured leg. About two o'clock in the morning the cocks, making a mistake as to the dawn, began to crow lustily, and as the bitterly cold night wind blew in upon us through the broken roof, and chilled us to the bone, we gave up all

idea of sleeping and got up and boiled some tea, and prayed for the day.

With the dawn everybody was stirring, and acting on a hint from our soldiers we gave our horses a good feed of grain, and allowed them plenty of time to eat it, and made a good breakfast ourselves. During the night the soldiers heard that the Shammar Arabs were short of food for themselves and their horses, and were stopping caravans and robbing their owners of whatever food they possessed. By 6.30 we were ready to start for Naşibîn, but when we went to our horses we found their bridles, which were English, were missing. I called upon the head-man of the Kurds to produce them, but he swore that he knew nothing about them, and that they had, perhaps, been taken by some of the young men, and that they would bring them back. I begged, entreated, and threatened him, but without result, and then we were told that he had had the bridles hidden so that we might not leave the Kaşr, for he was afraid of the Shammar. This was, no doubt, complimentary to us, but the sun had risen, and we wanted to be off. I then told the head-man that I should write his name in my book, and say that he had stolen our bridles—in short, that Husên ibn Tûrg was a thief—and I took out my note-book and wrote his name, adding the word "harâmî," or "thief." When I read this to him he burst into a rage, and called upon Allah to witness the insult with which I had insulted him, and cursed the day he was born. Then he turned and ran into a hut where his women were, and presently returned with the two bridles. These were carried by a young, unveiled woman, a new wife. He gave us the bridles, and then asked me to give him the paper on which his name was written, and I tore out the leaf and gave it to him, and he gave it to a man and told him to go and burn it at once, and the man did so. The head-man then said that his wife had hidden the bridles with her, because she did not want us to go away without giving her some medicine, of which she was in great need. We chafed at the delay, but there was no help for it, and I had a bag unpacked, and the medicine case taken out, and as soon

The town stands on the river, which the Seleucidae called "Mygdonius" (the *Σαοκόρας* of Ptolemy, V, 18, 3. and the modern Jaghjagha), and the Macedonians are said to have rebuilt or enlarged it and called it "Antiocheia Mygdoniae." It was captured by Lucullus from the hosts sent against him by Tigranes, and during the wars between the Romans and Persians it changed hands several times, and the Muslims took it with Dârâ, Harran and Edessa about 640. Under the Arabs it became a great and flourishing trade-centre, and the cultivated lands about it were famous for the grain and fruits which they produced. Its gardens and roses, and its wines, were greatly praised by Muslim writers,¹ and the only drawbacks to this earthly paradise were its scorpions and gnats.² Benjamin of Tudela visited the town in 1173, and says, "it is a large city, richly watered, and contains about one thousand Jews."³ Rauwolf says that "Zibin is a fine place, not very big, lying on an ascent, very well surrounded and fortified with walls and ditches. It is full of conduits or springs, but chiefly in the great *Camp*."⁴ The descriptions of the modern village given by Buckingham, Badger, Fletcher and other more recent travellers, show that its importance has not grown under the rule of the Turks.

When we arrived at Naşibîn White was greatly fatigued and in want of sleep, and we decided to stay there till the afternoon. The Kâ'im Maḵâm showed us much civility, gave us *tea* (!), and arranged for White to rest in his house. Aurelius Hannâ, Metropolitan of Naşibîn, came to see us, and we found him to be well informed about the history of the town, and an accomplished Syriac scholar. His library consisted of modern copies of old manuscripts, and when I found that he was very anxious to obtain copies of the Syriac works printed in England, I gave him copies of Syriac texts edited by Wright and

¹ See the authorities quoted by le Strange, *Lands*, p. 94.

² These are the "strange Flies" mentioned by Tavernier (*Travels*, p. 71).

³ Ed. Asher, London, 1840, p. 90.

⁴ *Travels*, London, 1693, vol. i, p. 211.

myself, having (at Wright's suggestion) taken a small supply with me. With one of his friends as guide I set out to see the antiquities of the place. We first went and examined the five massive pillars, some of them with finely carved capitals, which are the only remains of the great building that once stood here. We then went to see the Church of Mâr Ya'qôbh (James), Bishop of Nisibis, and member of the Council of Nicæa, who died in 338. Bishop James is the patron saint of Naşibîn, and his congregation firmly believed that the town was saved from the Persians through his prayers, and that the destruction of the mighty army of Sapor II by means of a plague of death-dealing flies was the result of his entreaties to God. The church is a rectangular building, the oldest part of which probably dates from the first half of the fourth century; it is oriented to the east. It practically consists of two sections, each about 28 feet long and 14 feet wide. From time immemorial service has been held in the southern section, which is the church proper. The dome above it seemed to be quite modern. Passing through the western doorway,¹ we saw an elaborately carved font on each side of the first pillar on the right; in the northern wall were four doors, and in the east wall was an apse, in which stood the altar; in the south-west corner was a flight of stone steps which led down to the crypt, measuring 14 feet by 8 feet,² where was the stone sarcophagus in which, I was assured, the remains of the body of Saint James were preserved. The sarcophagus was about 7 feet long and 3 feet wide. I was invited to take a pinch of dust from a little hollow near the sarcophagus to protect me from the Shammar during my journey across the desert to Môşul, and I did so. The carvings over the doors in the north wall were very elaborate, and some parts of them were in a good state of

¹ Badger says: "The chief entrance faces the east" (*sic*) and of the church itself he says: "The contiguous apartment is destitute of architectural ornament" (i, p. 67), statements which suggest that he never saw the church.

² The figures are Badger's.

preservation.¹ I enquired of my guide if he knew of the burial-place of Narsai the great Nestorian writer, who died at Nisibis in the sixth century, or of the graves of any of the followers of Bar-Sawmâ, the Nestorian Bishop of Nisibis in 485. My question was unfortunate, for he became angry and excited, and said, "God forbid! Thank God all such heretics have been swept out of Naşibîn, and every memorial of them has been destroyed."

When I returned to the house of the Kâ'im Maḳâm I found that gentleman busily occupied in persuading White to stay with him for a week or two, and to go on a shooting expedition with him; but this was impossible, and we had the beasts loaded up, and got the merchants together, and left Naşibîn soon after noon. We crossed the river Jaghjagha by the stone bridge, and rode for a couple of hours through great fields of corn-land, and gardens which had gone out of cultivation, and little by little entered that dead, dreary, depressing, flat desert plain, which extends from the suburbs of Naşibîn to the Tigris, and is called by the natives "Chôl" (the *ch* as in church). We saw several small collections of black tents, with sheep and goats about them, and several very miserable villages perched on small mounds; but we neither met nor overtook any caravan. In the afternoon, about four o'clock, men came out from two of these villages, and invited us to stay the night with them, but we pressed on till 5.30, when we arrived at a place called Kabûr al-Bêḍah, or the "White Graves." The head-man of the village, a Kurd, was very unwilling for us to stay there, as he feared that the Shammar Arabs would come and would rob not only us, but his village. Many disputes broke out between the soldiers and the villagers, and the merchants and the villagers, and as all of them were brought to me to settle, I had my hands

¹ Plans of the church have been published by Parry (*op. cit.*, p. 331), Preusser (*op. cit.*, pl. 49), and W. A. Wigram, *Cradle of Mankind*, p. 59; Mr. Parry's best represents the church as I saw it, but Preusser may have excavated parts of the northern half of the building and found traces of what his plan suggests.

very full all the evening. Besides these matters some of the merchants in our caravan had fever, and remembering the scene at Dârâ they came to me for medicine. We slept in a long cattle-shed, made of reeds daubed with clay, and roofed in places with pieces of camel's-hair cloth, and the sheep either walked over us, or lay down on our rugs too close to us to be pleasant. As for the goats, I agreed with the Egyptian monks who regarded them as incarnations of the Evil One.

We were astir early on Sunday morning, January 13th, and as the head-man of the village was very anxious to get rid of us his men helped us in watering the horses, and loading them up; and we were on the march by seven o'clock. The sun rose gloriously, and the day became so bright and warm that our ragamuffin soldiers threw off their cloaks, and every now and then someone began to sing. An hour or so after we started the merchants, who were leading the caravan, turned and rode back to us in some alarm, and told us that they had seen to the south of us a considerable number of horsemen, and that they believed them to be Shammar Arabs. They had been watching them for some time, for they noticed them just after we started, and they felt sure that the supposed Arabs, though apparently marching parallel with us, were drawing nearer to us all the time. The two soldiers cantered off to see what they could of the Arabs, but presently returned saying that they were Shammar horsemen, and they advised us to return to Naşîbîn. This we refused to do, for owing to the shortness of our food supply we could not stay there many days, even if we succeeded in reaching the place without molestation; and if the Arabs meant to rob us they had only to wait until we started again. We therefore decided to close up our caravan, and to go on as before, and we did so. Remembering the story of the attack on Mr. Russell by the Shammar, I made the soldiers withdraw the cartridges from their carbines, for a single shot fired in excitement from our caravan might have serious consequences; and we emptied our revolvers of their cartridges. I knew that the Shammar were in the

habit of levying toll on travellers who passed through their country, and that they wanted food; and it was said that they did not strip travellers naked like the Muntafik Arabs in Babylonia, and turn them loose in the desert for Allah to kill them by hunger, thirst, and exposure. I also knew that if they stopped us we should have to make some arrangement with them, and give them food, and perhaps money, and I arranged with the merchants that we would stop soon at some convenient place, and repack our saddle-bags and boxes, and bestow our money, etc., about our own persons.

Meanwhile we rode on, and when, about 9.30, we came to a wide stream which we had to ford, we halted, and set about our work of repacking and rearranging our loads. Whilst we were doing this the women with the merchants began to shriek, and immediately afterwards we heard the thundering of hoofs on the hard dry ground, and we saw a horde of Shammar horsemen galloping towards us, with their long gas-pipe guns at their backs, and their spears set as for attack. They galloped up quite close to us, and then suddenly they pulled back their horses on their haunches, and leaped to the ground, and crowded about us. Their display of horsemanship was very fine, and under other circumstances I should have enjoyed the sight of it greatly. They were over forty in number, and besides those who rode up to us there appeared, as it were out of the ground, many Shammar on foot; the latter must have been in hiding, and waiting for us. Among the merchants from Mârdin were two who had some kind of short rifle, which they fired off several times in the air to show, as they afterwards told me, "that they were armed, and not afraid of the Arabs." The Arabs broke up into little groups, each of which seized upon the loads of the merchants, and began to unpack them to see what was in them and to take what they wanted. White and I and the two soldiers waited close to our horses and camels, and presently about half a dozen of the Arabs ran towards us, and the one who seemed to be in authority came up to me, and asked, "Who are ye? What is your name and business?"

By whose permission do ye travel through my country? Why are these soldiers with you? Ye are German engineers who have come to spy out my country." I collected my wits, and in my halting Arabic I told him that White and I were Englishmen, who were going to Môsul and Baghdâd on the business of the British Government; that White was the son of the British Eltchi in Constantinople, that we were not engineers, and that we were travelling to Môsul with the permission of His Majesty the Sultân of Turkey in Stambûl, and I produced the *buyûruldî* which Sir William White obtained for us, and the *buyûruldî* of the Pâshâ of Aleppo. Hasan ibn Muḥammad, for so the Arab was called, asked to see the Sultân's *buyûruldî*, and I gave it to him. Whether he could read it I know not, but he turned the paper so that the writing was not upside down, and looked at it for a short time as if he could. Then suddenly he became very angry, and began to curse the Sultân, and before I could snatch the paper from him he had torn it in pieces, which he threw on the ground and spat upon. He beckoned to one of the younger men, who came and picked them up, and by Hasan's orders, which we heard him give, he took them away a little distance and defiled them. I protested against this insult as far as my Arabic allowed, and the two soldiers and Hasan began a swearing match, in which Hasan was the victor.

Hasan then asked me if I was the owner of the caravan, and I told him that the merchants were travelling with me merely for protection, and asked him by what right his men were cutting open their loads and robbing them. He said that the Shammar were lords of that country, and that every caravan had to pay to him contributions of money, food, clothes, and animals, and told me that White and I might go free with our beasts and the soldiers if I paid him £T50. Then we began to bargain, and after a long wrangle, during which we both lost our tempers several times, he agreed to let us pass for £T5 in gold, which was all I had, and a gift of food and *bakhshtsh*! I gave him the £T5, and then opened our boxes of stores to give him food. He insisted on having all the coffee,

sugar, tobacco, matches, rice, and nearly all the dates and figs and raisins which the generous Arab shêkh at Tall Arman had given us, and was very angry because I had no wooden pipes to give him in which to smoke the tobacco. He did not realize the importance of tins of milk and jam, or he would have taken them also, and he left us our charcoal and methylated spirit. I declined to open two large leather bags containing books, clothes and papers, so one of his men slit open the sides with his dagger, and cut through several of our cloth garments and woollen things. Meanwhile his men had been searching the loads of the two camels, and they carried off a sack of grain, which was all we had left for the horses, and a sack of meal intended for the camels. Hasan and his men left us to go and see what their companions had taken from the merchants, and judging by the pile of stuff which the Arabs had collected, and were already loading upon their horses, the merchants had been mercilessly robbed. Many of them had been stripped, and rolls of money taken from their clothes and belts, and their bales of Aleppo stuffs were sadly shrunk.

Whilst the Arabs were examining their loot we got ready to ford the stream, and just as we were going to get on our horses, Hasan and his men came back and demanded *bakhshish*. Resistance was out of the question, so Hasan took my saddle-bags and a sheepskin, one of his men took White's bridle and a rug, a second took most of the small stock of dates left to us, a third took more than half of our stock of hard-baked bread rolls (*ka'ak*), and a fourth tilted the load of our beds from the back of one of the donkeys, and drawing a sort of padded quilt from one of the bundles of bedding, took it and the donkey away with him. Just as I was wondering if they would take our saddles and the clothes we had on us, a couple of horsemen rode up in haste, and, leaping from their horses whilst in full gallop, they came to Hasan and began talking to him with great earnestness, pointing to the south as they did so. Hasan called out some order to his men, and they quickly finished loading their loot on their horses, and began to ride off towards the south. He

then mounted his horse, and, riding up to me, asked me to give him yet a little more *bakhshish*, namely, a compass, as without one he could not tell the true direction when he wanted to pray towards Makkah! To this impudent request I made no reply, for I knew no words suitable for the occasion. He then gave us the "peace and blessings of God," and rode off followed by the words of the merchants, "the curse of Allah be upon you and your burnt fathers."

The plundering of our caravan occupied nearly two hours, and I said to one of the Muslims, "Will you not say the noonday prayer, and thank God for our lives?" and he answered shortly, "There is no God to thank; it was all written." Before we all had forded the stream two of the Shammar returned, and asked for *bakhshish*, and we found out from them what it was that had caused Hasan and his party to depart in such haste. It seems that the two horsemen who had come to him reported that they had discovered an immense flock of sheep being driven across the desert from Mōsul to Syria. A flock of this kind travelled very slowly, for the sheep grazed as they went, and drank whenever they came to a stream or wells; the journey occupied anything from two to three months. Very few shepherds drove the flock, and as their only arms were stout cudgels, or bitumen-headed maces, and "gas-pipe" guns, their powers of resisting a body of determined horsemen were very limited. The sheep were usually the property of merchants of Mōsul and the neighbourhood, and the Shammar and other Arab tribes looked upon them as their lawful prey. Hasan and his men rode to where the flock was, rounded up a large number of the sheep—some said half, others two-thirds of them—and overcoming the feeble resistance of the shepherds, began to drive their spoil away to Jabal Shammar. I proposed to the two Shammar Arabs that they should ride with us to our next halting-place, and they did so. Two hours later they stopped on a low rise in the desert, and, pointing to the south, they showed us in the distance Hasan and his party driving a very large number of sheep to Jabal Shammar. Three hours later

we reached Rumêlah, and we gave each Arab a sheep-skin, and they left us apparently satisfied with their *bakhshish*.

Rumêlah was a small village of blackened hair tents, with sides made of reeds daubed with mud, and their owners received us kindly and with sympathy. When they heard from the soldiers the story of how we had been robbed by the Shammar they expressed surprise that the Shammar had left us so much, and said that Allah had been most merciful and gracious to us. They made a large fire of sage brush and camels' dung, and we and the merchants and their women sat round it till nearly midnight, for it was too cold to go to bed. The iniquities of the Shammar and the helplessness of the Government were the chief subject of conversation, and I regretted much that I could not write down all I heard from the villagers at Rumêlah. We left at daybreak, January 14th, and rode for most of the day through perfectly flat desert, in the teeth of a strong south wind, and under a sullen, sunless sky, the colour of dark grey wool. In the afternoon the merchants said they were too tired to go on, and that the women were exhausted, and they proposed to halt for the night where we were. I agreed to rest a short time there, and we made a fire and boiled water in a pail, and made enough tea for all of us. After this the merchants still said they would stay there for the night, but I determined to press on to Dêr al-Môşul, or Eski Môşul, which was five and a half hours further on, and White and I and our soldiers left them. Two hours later the merchants overtook us. Their women had refused to remain behind us, and said they would set out by themselves if their husbands would not move. We passed several small villages of tents, some pitched on the flat and some on low mounds, and their inhabitants offered us no hospitality, but were thankful to see us pass on our way; many of them did not return our salutations. Thanks to the light of a good moon, we reached Eski Môşul at nine o'clock at night, and found quarters in a stone building which the soldiers called "Al-Kal'ah," or "the Castle," though I could not see why, for it was merely a very large house built of stone, with a huge courtyard,

and most of it was in ruins. The courtyard was large enough to hold all our caravan, and none of the merchants or their women or friends would leave us.

The owner or keeper of the house was a Muslim, and he received us very kindly, and told us that he and his family were our servants, and that his house and all in it was ours. But better than this, he drew water for our horses, which, like ourselves, were very tired and hungry, and helped us to feed them and the camels. When he heard of the taking of our food by the Shammar, he said that if we would stay with him over the following day his "house," *i.e.*, his women, should bake us sufficient bread to take us to Mōsul, and that he would get us half a sheep. As we were much too tired to think of going on the next day I gratefully accepted his offer, and with the prospect of a new supply of food before us, we made a good fire in the courtyard and sat round it, and shared what the Shammar had left us with all the merchants and their women, several of whom were already fast asleep on the stones, and had to be awakened. Our host drew from the soldiers a long detailed account of our treatment by the Shammar, and said that they always watched every caravan that left Naṣībīn, and robbed them when they came to the ford where they attacked us. He said that he had read in books that the district was called in old times "Balad ḥarāmī," or "Thieves' country," and that the people there lived in a large town called "Barka'id" in great comfort on the plunder they took from travellers. He was convinced that but for the arrival of the flock of sheep which the Shammar raided, we should have been stripped to our skins.

The next morning, January 15th, we saw that the building we were in was a place of considerable strength, and that before it became a ruin it might well have served the purposes of a small frontier "castle," and provided a refuge for sheep and cattle during raids by desert Arabs. When I was there it was used as a Khān to all intents and purposes. In mediæval times Eski Mōsul, or "Old Mōsul," must have been a place of some importance, for the great roads which came from Naṣībīn

and Sinjār joined the Mōṣul road there ; and it is well situated, and is a very convenient place for a market. The name given to this town in Syriac documents is "Bālādh,"¹ and the Syrian Christians were sufficiently numerous there to have a bishop of their own.² There appear to have been several monasteries in the neighbourhood, and one of the best known was that of Abbā Yūsuf. Both at Eski Mōṣul and at Mōṣul I was told that a very large city occupied the site of Eski Mōṣul in ancient times, and that it only fell into decay when Mōṣul was built on the right, or west, bank of the Tigris. The large mounds which lie close to the modern village of Eski Mōṣul, and the great ridges which probably represent big walls, suggest that such was the case. Layard caused excavations to be made in the largest mound on two occasions, but nothing was found which threw any light on the history or origin of the city.³

We went out and made an examination of the ruins of the city, and when we returned to the village we managed to obtain enough grain and meal to take our horses and camels to Mōṣul, and on entering the Khān one of our host's wives brought to us a large basket of bread cakes, sweetened with sugar, and set them down at our feet, and departed to her quarters. Presently she returned with a little girl of ten years of age, whom she was leading, as if the child were blind, and coming up to me she said, " My daughter is blind. I have given you bread, do you give her medicine." Like all Orientals, she thought I was a *hakīm*, or physician, and I tried to justify her belief. Warm water and patience removed the incrustation on and about the eyelids, and cocaine, and a few light touches of a brush dipped in a solution of nitrate of silver, and lint and a bandage, did the child's eyes a great deal of good, and her screams of pain convinced the onlookers that the " medicine "

¹ For the identification of Eski Mōṣul with Bālādh see Tuch, *De Nino urbe*, p. 21 ; the identification was first made by D'Anville.

² Ishō'-yahbh, the famous Syrian writer who became Patriarch, was Bishop of Bālādh ; see Budge, *Book of Governors*, vol. ii, p. 61.

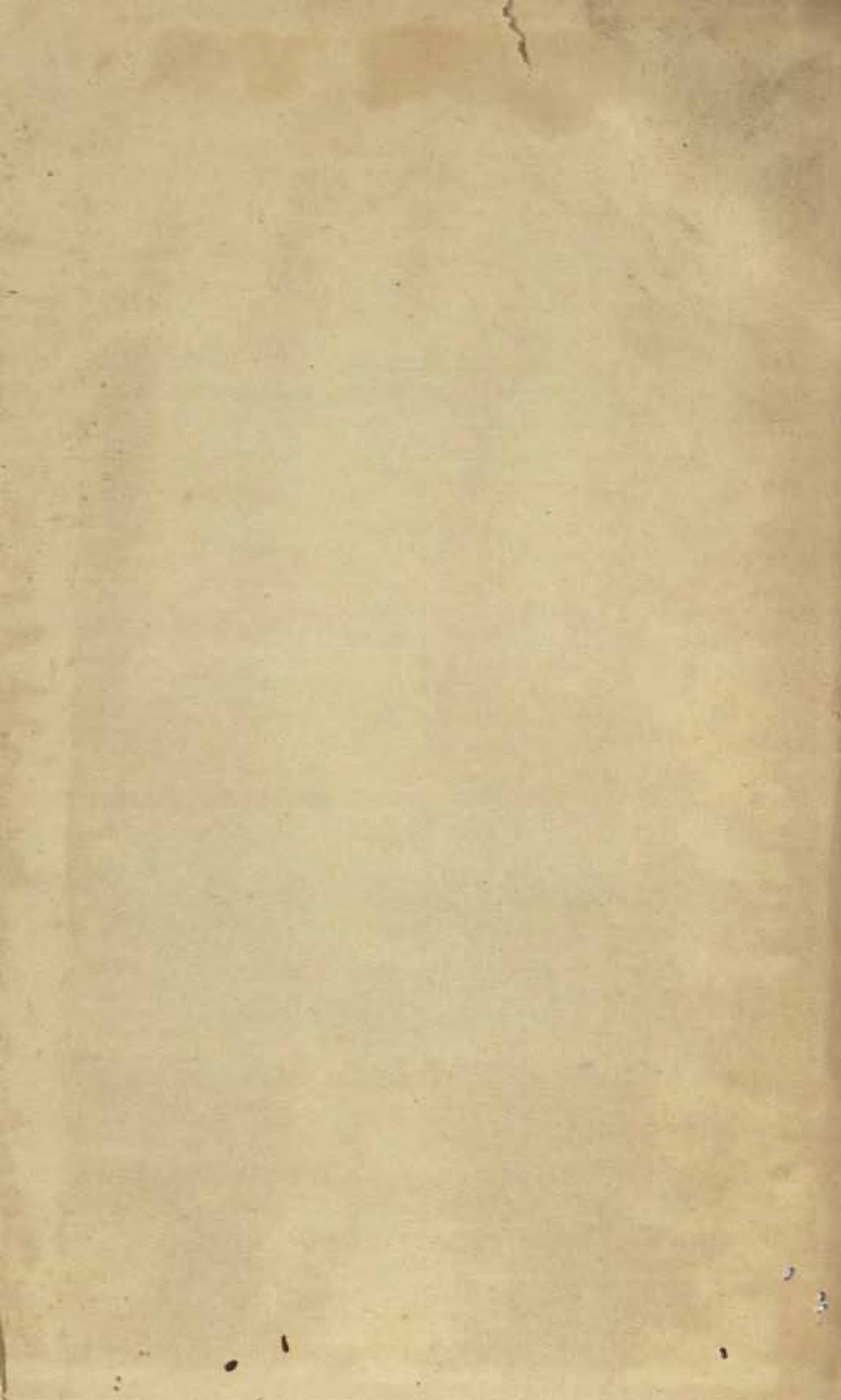
³ *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 335.

was of the right kind. She slept for four or five hours and then got up and ran about with other children, who guided her steps, and it was clear that she was not suffering much. Nothing that her father could do for us was too much, and we had difficulty in making him accept payment for what he supplied us with. He went about repeating, "Glory be to Allah. The devils have gone out of her eyes."

We left Eski Môsul the following morning at eight (January 16th), and our host, who seemed sorry to part with us, walked some miles with us. We halted for half an hour at noon, and at 2.30 caught a glimpse of the river Tigris and the walls of Môsul. Two hours later we were met by Mr. Nimrûd Rassam¹ and a large party of Nestorians, who gave us a hearty welcome, and escorted us to the gate of the town with much ceremony. These well-dressed, clean-looking gentlemen accentuated the general raggedness and battered appearance of our caravan, and we were much embarrassed by the crowd of people who flocked out to meet us. In some extraordinary manner the news of the attack made upon us by the Shammar had reached Môsul, and several versions of it were current. According to one a body of Shammar had attacked a large number of Englishmen whom the Sultân had sent to Môsul on business, and had killed them all, and carried off a large sum in gold and horses, camels, rifles, etc.; and a number of merchants who were travelling

¹ Nephew of the late Mr. Hormuzd Rassam. He was appointed unpaid British Vice-Consul at Môsul on August 24th, 1893, but the Ottoman Government refused to recognize him in that capacity on account of his Turkish nationality. Application was therefore made by the British Ambassador at Constantinople for the recognition of Mr. Rassam as unpaid British Consular Agent at Môsul, and this recognition was accorded by the Turkish authorities. He served in this capacity from August 24th, 1893 (the date of his appointment as Vice-Consul), until December 31st, 1907, when a paid Vice-Consulate was established in place of the unpaid Consular Agency, his services then being dispensed with. On June 15th, 1908, he was appointed Honorary Dragoman at the British Vice-Consulate at Môsul, and remained at his post until war was declared by Great Britain against Turkey, November 5th, 1914.

with them had been stripped naked, and turned loose in the desert, where they had been promptly eaten by wolves and lions. Another version had it that the Englishmen had defeated the Shammar, and driven them back with great slaughter to Jabal Shammar, and that their leader was the son of the Queen of England. As they saw us before them, and the merchants also, alive and uninjured, they believed that we had slain many Shammar Arabs, and thought us heroes; and one foolish young man walking in front suddenly began to shout, "Why has the bulbul (nightingale) begun to sing? Why has the almond budded? Why has the rose blossomed?" And his answer to each question was, "Because the Englishmen have killed the Shammar." Having sent the soldiers to report their arrival to the Deputy-Governor of Môsul, and delivered the two camels from Urfah to the man who was waiting for them, and said a final farewell to our fellow-travellers, we decided to lodge with Mr. Nimrûd Rassam for a short time, and went to his house. The last few days had been very fatiguing, and as White was suffering much pain in his leg, I was anxious to get him quickly lodged in a house where he could be warm, and rest for a week at least. That evening, probably as the result of the reaction, White began to feel very acute pains in his knee. As soon as he had removed his big riding boots and breeches it swelled to an enormous size, and alarmed me. Enquiries revealed the fact that the only European doctor in Môsul was attached to the Turkish Army there and was not available. Nimrûd (*i.e.*, Mr. N. Rassam) said that he had often seen swollen knees of the kind, and that he knew of a native doctor who had treated them with marked success. This doctor was sent for, and when he arrived and examined the knee he said he could cure it, and that in fourteen days White would be able to ride again. Meanwhile he must lie absolutely still, and on no account attempt to stand upright. He proposed deferring treatment till the following day, but I pressed him to begin at once, and he left us to get the things he needed for the purpose. When he returned he asked for water, and began work. He bathed the knee with some decoction



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